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THE  
LIFE

OF

JOHN T. MOT,

THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIA

TRAILER

FOR SPIRITUAL AFFAIRS TO ESTABLISH  
CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH CAROLINA.

AND TO THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

NEW YORK

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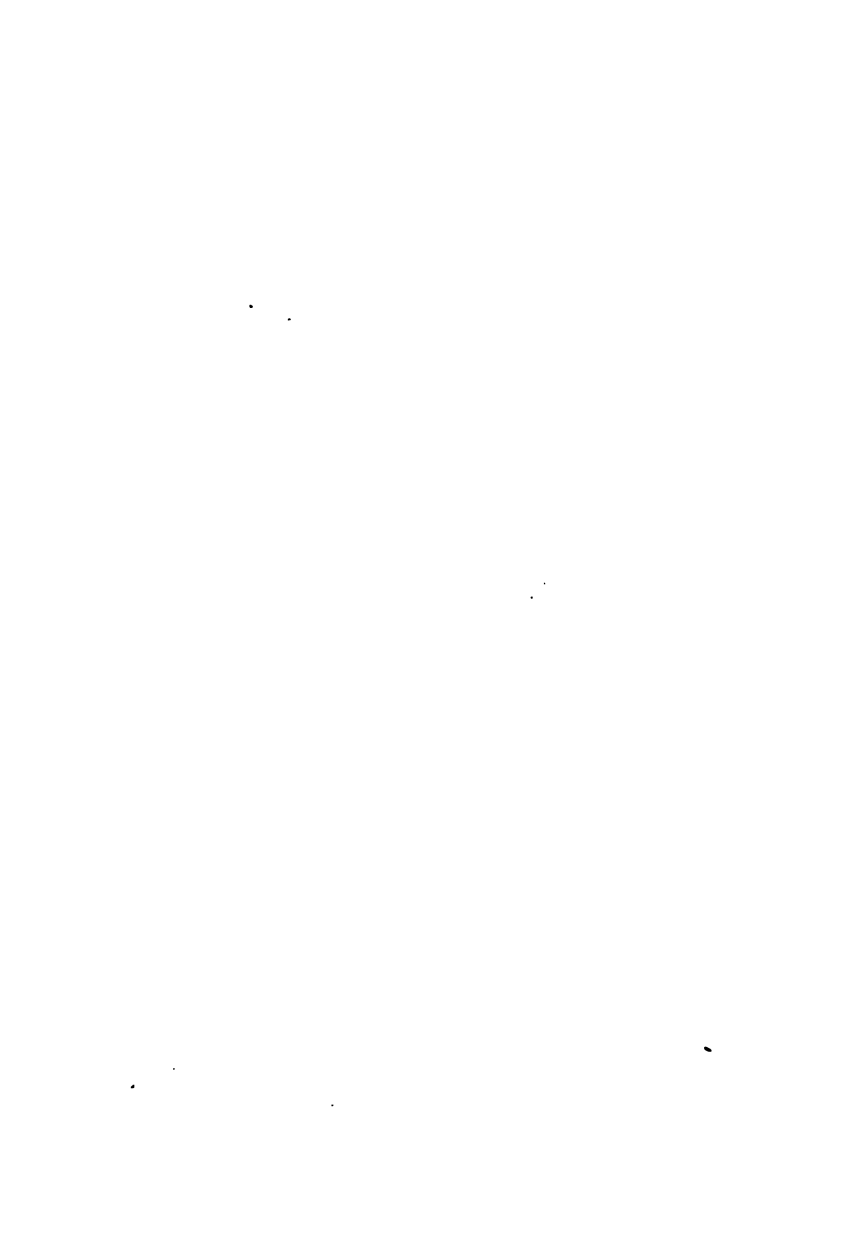
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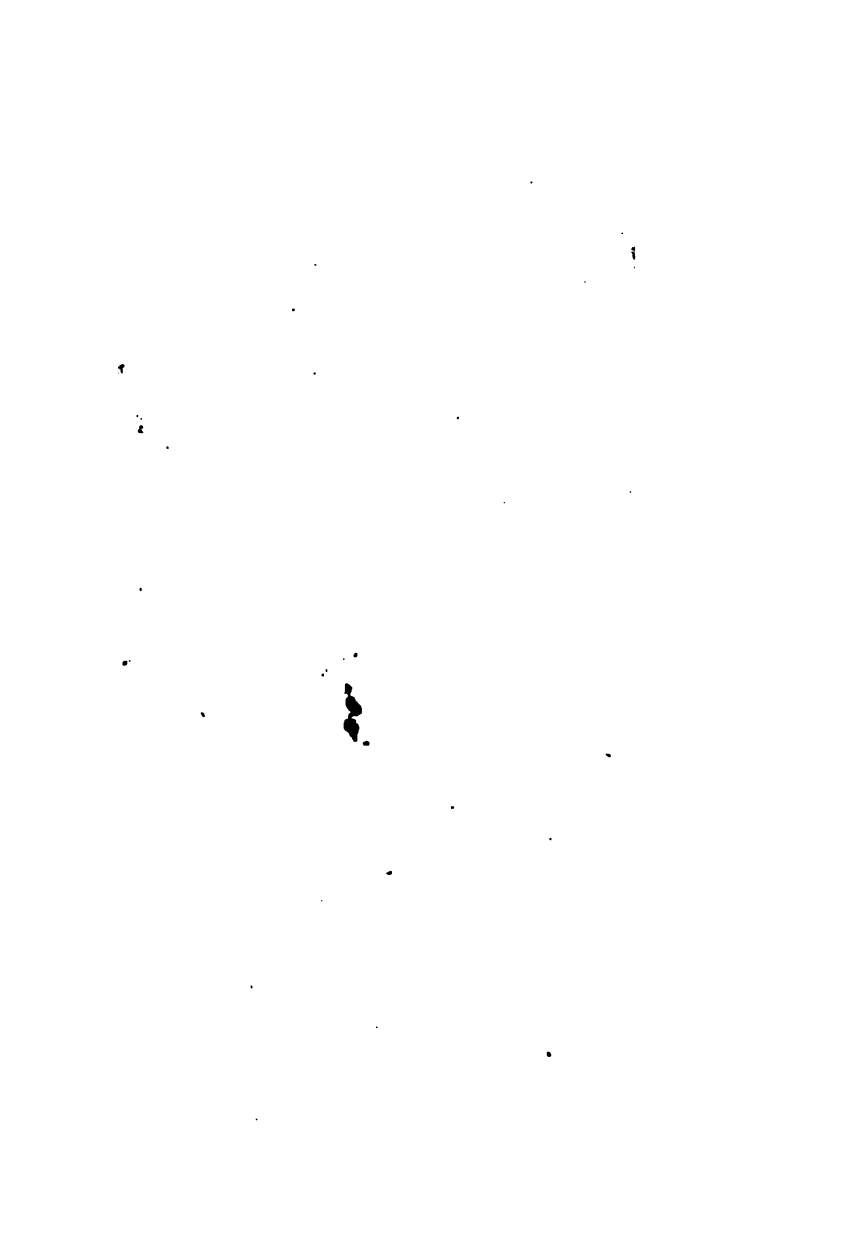
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THE  
LIFE  
OF  
JOHN ELIOT,

THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS;

INCLUDING

NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL ATTEMPTS, TO PROPAGATE  
CHRISTIANITY IN NORTH AMERICA,

DURING THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

---

"I knew much of Mr Eliot's opinions by many letters which I had from him. There was no man on earth whom I honoured above him. It is his *Evangelical Work*, that is the *Apostolical Succession*, that I plead for."—Richard Baxter.

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TO THE

REV. DAVID DICKSON, D. D.

AND TO THE

REV. WILLIAM BROWN, M. D.

SECRETARIES,

TO THE

*Scottish Missionary Society,*

THIS

SMALL VOLUME

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.





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## PREFACE.

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**JOHN ELIOT**, in his day and generation, was a burning and a shining light; and his character as a Christian, a minister, and a missionary, has never been considered, by those who are capable of appreciating moral excellence, *without commanding their warmest approbation.*

When Christians, in general, had almost wholly forgotten their duty respecting the propagation of divine truth, and satisfied their consciences by merely attempting to preserve the Church from the encroachments of its enemies, he seized the banner of the cross, and, under the influence of faith and love, marched forth to take possession of a new territory, in the name of his Almighty Saviour. He turned his at-

tention to the American Indians, in circumstances which entirely prevent the suspicion of his being actuated by improper motives; and, by a long life of active, enlightened, and persevering labour as an Evangelist, he made full proof of his ministry, and afforded an unequivocal testimony to the world, that he loved the cause of GOD as his own soul. Though several generations have passed away since his earthly course was finished, he still speaks from the grave in language which conveys the most important lessons. Having joined the glorious band of witnesses to the truth, he urges the Christian to lay aside every weight, to run with patience the race which is set before him, to abound in every good work, and to make the most strenuous efforts for the advancement of the truth.

To the various sources from which the following memoir of his Life is composed, we have uniformly referred in connection with the statements which we have introduced. When we have been unable to make him his own biographer, by producing

extracts from his own letters and publications, we have recorded facts respecting him on the authority of Dr COTTON MATHER, Major DANIEL GOOKIN, and other pious individuals, who enjoyed his friendship, admired his character, appreciated his labours of love, and witnessed the esteem and respect in which he was held by all who were acquainted with him. In connection with the account of his ministry among the Indians, we have presented such a detail of facts respecting the power of the gospel on the minds of the heathen, as will strengthen the conviction existing in every pious mind, that, while the divine command, and not the simple probability of success, must be made the rule of duty, in all missionary operations, the doctrine of "Christ crucified" will, under the divine blessing, infallibly prove destructive to every system of false religion, however congenial it may be with the depravity of man, or however calculated to strengthen or maintain its influence.

The attempts to propagate Christianity which were made by other ministers in



New-England, during the seventeenth century, had such an intimate connection with ELIOT'S labours, and the narrative of them appears to be so much in unison with the principal objects which we have had in view in composing his Life, that we have related them in different forms, at as great length as our plan, and the materials which we possessed, would permit.

EDINBURGH,  
21st January, 1828. }

## ERRATUM.

Page 147, for 1651, read 1661.

# LIFE

OF

## JOHN ELIOT.

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### CHAPTER I.

**Eliot's birth—His conversion—His education at Cambridge—His employment as usher in a school at Little Baddow, in Essex—His entrance into the sacred ministry—His departure to America—His employment in the Congregational Church at Boston—His marriage—His settlement at Roxbury—His character as a minister.**

**JOHN ELIOT** was born in England, in the year 1604. His early life is involved in obscurity,—and even the names and circumstances of his parents are now unknown. It appears, however, that he enjoyed the unspeakable blessing of a Christian education, which issued in his conversion, and led him to remark, when advanced to

manhood, that " he saw that it was a great favour of God to him, to season his first times with the fear of God, the word, and prayer." <sup>a</sup>

He received an excellent education at the University of Cambridge, and made remarkable progress in his studies. He became a most acute grammarian, and attained an extensive knowledge of theology, of the original languages of the sacred Scriptures, and of the sciences and liberal arts. <sup>b</sup>

On his leaving the University, he was placed in circumstances highly favourable to his mental and moral improvement, and which afforded him important means of usefulness to his fellow-creatures. About the year 1629, the pious and enlightened Thomas Hooker, who afterwards proved one of the most distinguished divines of New England, having, on account of his non-conformity, been suspended from the exercise of the ministry at Chelmsford, in Essex, established, at the request of several respectable persons, a school at Little Baddow. Mr Eliot was employed as his usher; and he discharged the duties connected with this situation with great fidelity. His services proved very acceptable to Mr Hooker, who

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<sup>a</sup> Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, b. iii. p. 173.

<sup>b</sup> Mather's *Magnalia*, b. iii. p. 184.

took the greatest interest in his welfare, successfully directed him to the solemn consideration of divine truth, and deeply impressed his mind with his obligations to glorify his Redeemer. The blessings which he enjoyed, at Little Baddow, were gratefully remembered. "To this place I was called," he writes, "through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul, for here the Lord said unto my dead soul, Live; and, through the grace of God, I do live, and I shall live for ever! When I came to this blessed family, I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness in its LIVELY VIGOUR and EFFICACY."<sup>c</sup>

Mr Eliot, having experienced this decided improvement in his views and feelings on the subject of religion, devoted himself to the work of preaching the gospel to his fellow-creatures.<sup>d</sup> Reflecting, however, on the deplorable corruptions of the Church of England, and the unscriptural and cruel measures which were so ardently pursued by King James, and the persons who were at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, he found that he would be unable to continue in the office of the ministry in his native land, and resolved to depart to America,

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<sup>c</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 59, 174.    <sup>d</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 3.

where he hoped to enjoy liberty of conscience, and to exercise church discipline according to what he conceived to be the institutions of Christ. He embarked for New-England in the summer of 1631, and arrived at Boston in the month of November in the same year.<sup>e</sup>

Deeply impressed with the necessity of using all the means in his power for the promotion of his spiritual interests, and the improvement of his fellow-creatures, he lost no time in entering into Christian communion with the Congregational Church, which had been formed at Boston by the first colonists of Massachusetts Bay, and in agreeing to act as pastor, during the absence of its regular minister, the Rev. John Wilson, who had gone to England with the view of settling his affairs.<sup>f</sup>

In 1632, he was joined to a pious young lady, to whom he had promised marriage previously to his departure from England. He was also, at this time, called to enter into that relation which was the principal reason of his leaving the land of his fathers. He had agreed with a number of his Christian friends, to devote himself to their service

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<sup>e</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 174, 188. Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 125.

<sup>f</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 175.

in the gospel, if they should cross the Atlantic, before he should be permanently employed in the pastoral care of any other people; and their arrival in America required the fulfilment of his engagement. Having erected a town called Roxbury, about a mile distant from Boston, they formed themselves into a church, and soon had the happiness of finding that Mr Eliot, from his attachment to them, had refused to become colleague to Mr Wilson, when solicited by the church at Boston, and that he had resolved to minister amongst them in holy things. <sup>g</sup>

Mr Eliot engaged in the ministry with great humility. Though he possessed good natural endowments, and was "mighty in the Scriptures," he was strongly impressed with the awful responsibility of the office; and when he considered its duties, difficulties, and temptations, he found that a reliance on that grace, which is all-sufficient, could alone support his soul. <sup>h</sup>

In his preparation for the pulpit, he was remarkably diligent. He saw that it was extremely difficult to give to each of his hearers a "portion of meat in due season;" and earnestly desiring to "shew himself approved of God, a workman that needed

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<sup>g</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 175.

<sup>h</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 184.

not to be ashamed," he was careful that his sermons should be the result of much observation, study, and reading. When he heard a discourse which gave evidence of labour on the part of the person who delivered it, he was accustomed to express his warmest approbation. He always looked, however, for some higher excellence in a sermon than mere study. He was most desirous that preaching should be attended with the influences of that Spirit who only could make it effectual for the conversion of sinners, and the edification of saints; and he fervently prayed that his discourses might lead his auditors to say, "The Spirit of the Lord is here;" "O what a sad thing it is;" he has been heard to remark, "when a sermon shall have that one thing, THE SPIRIT OF GOD, wanting in it." The "unsearchable riches of Christ" was the general theme, of his discourses. Like the great apostle of the Gentiles, he was determined "to know" nothing among his people save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." He endeavoured, therefore, to improve every subject which he treated, for the purpose of drawing sinners to the Saviour. To young preachers he would frequently say, "Let there be much of Christ in your ministry;" and when he heard a sermon in which the character and offices of the Redeemer

were specially treated, his heart rejoiced: "O blessed be God," said he on such occasions, "that we have Christ so much and so well preached in poor New-England."

Conscious of the infinite value of divine truth, and realizing the awful importance of his circumstances, as an ambassador of the King of kings, he used great plainness of speech, when he declared the message of God to rebellious man, and a manner of delivery which was solemn, energetic, and graceful.

Conceiving that one of the principal ends of church-fellowship was, to represent to the world the qualifications of those who "should ascend the hill of the Lord, and stand in his holy place for ever," he *diligently* rebuked the sins of professors. "He would sound the trumpet of God," says Dr Mather, "against all vice, with a most penetrating liveliness, and make his pulpit another Mount Sinai, for the flashes of lightning therein displayed against the breaches of the law given from that burning mountain. There was usually a special fervour in the rebukes which he bestowed on carnality. When he was to brand the earthly-mindedness of church-members, and the allowance and indulgence which they often gave themselves in sensual delights, he was a right



Boanerges,—he spoke as many thunderbolts words.”<sup>1</sup>

While he was thus zealous for the glory of C in his public ministrations, he was not neglect of the private, though no less important, duties his calling. He was, indeed, the father of people. By holding frequent intercourse w them, he greatly endeared himself to them, and came acquainted with the extent of their knowledge of divine things,—with their trials and difficulties,—with their joys and sorrows. He v in this manner enabled to act as their instruct counsellor, and comforter. Aware that mankind in their natural state, are averse to the truths the gospel, and unwilling to accept the Saviour he was instant in season, and out of season, striving to win souls to Christ, and went to highways and hedges, that he might compel sinners to come to the marriage-supper of the Lamb. When his neighbours were in distress, he was brother born for their adversity; he spent whole days in fasting and prayer on their behalf, and often requested his friends to join with him these exercises.<sup>2</sup>

He was remarkably devoted to the welfare

<sup>1</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 184, 185, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 176, 181, 182.

the children of his congregation ; and in their service he had a peculiar delight. He spent much of his time in their public and private instruction ; and he composed several catechisms, with the view of guarding their tender minds from pernicious errors. When he came into a family, he was accustomed to call for all the young people in it, that he might lay his hands on every one of them, and implore a blessing on their behalf. At Roxbury, he was careful to have a grammar-school in complete efficiency ; and he used his influence to have a similar institution established and supported in many other places. " I cannot forget the ardour," says Dr Mather, " with which I once heard him pray at a Synod held in Boston. ' Lord, for schools every where among us ! That our schools may flourish ! That every member of this assembly may go home to procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives ! That before we die we may be happy to see a good school established in every part of the country !'" The success which attended his labours for the education of the young was great ; and he had the happiness of being the indirect instrument of raising up many individuals, who, as ministers of the gospel, were remarkably blessed by the Head of the church. \*

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\* Mather, b. iii. p. 182, 186, 188.

His devotedness to the work of the ministry naturally prevented him from engaging in any concerns which might, in any degree, injure or limit his usefulness. Accustomed to view himself as one who had been set apart for the spiritual service of the Lord, he entangled not himself among the affairs of the world. So much, indeed, was his mind engrossed with the care of his people, that sometimes he seemed ignorant of the property which he possessed ; and so much did he rest contented with his temporal circumstances, that he chose rather to accept the precarious, but voluntary, contributions of the members of his church, than to demand the payment of any stipulated sum. Considering that his ministerial influence would not be contracted, but extended by his liberality, he gave much of his substance to feed the poor, who counted him as a father, and repaired to him with filial confidence. He was of opinion, that he " had nothing but what he gave away ;" and that " looking over his accounts, he could no where find the God of heaven a debtor."<sup>1</sup> While his disinterested benevolence cannot be sufficiently commended, and too closely imitated, there is reason to believe that

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<sup>1</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 180, 181.

he did not always exercise sufficient judgment in the distribution of his charities. \*

While he exhibited so much diligence, and devotedness, in the discharge of his own pastoral duties, he used all the means in his power to strengthen the hands of his brethren in the ministry. With the view of encouraging their labours, as well as edifying and refreshing his own soul, he regularly attended the occasional lectures which they delivered at Boston, Cambridge, Charleston, and Dorchester. To their instructions he was very attentive; and he repeated them to the individuals with whom he associated, when returning from the house of God, in such a

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\* *Of this remark, the following anecdote, which is related by Dr Dwight, and the authenticity of which we have no reason to doubt, may serve as an illustration. "The parish treasurer having paid him his salary, put it into a handkerchief, and tied it into as many hard knots as he could make, to prevent him from giving it away before he reached his own house. On his way he called on a poor family, and told them that he had brought them some relief. He then began to untie the knots, but finding it a work of great difficulty, gave the handkerchief to the mistress of the house, saying, 'Here, my dear, take it, I believe the Lord designs it all for you.'"*—*Travels in New-England and New-York, vol. iii. p. 115.*

manner as to cause their hearts to burn, while he talked with them by the way.

His walk with his brethren was characterized by humility and peacefulness. When he had occasion to associate with them, he would say, "The Lord Jesus takes much notice of what is done and said among his ministers, when they are together,—come, let us pray before we part." When he heard any of them complain of the stubbornness of particular members of their churches, he was accustomed to say, "Brethren, compass them! Brethren, learn the meaning of these three little words,—*bear, forbear, forgive!*" On one occasion, when a bundle of papers, which referred to matters of contention between some people, who should have hastened to be reconciled to one another, were laid before an assembly of ministers, he hastily threw them into the fire, and immediately said, "Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it on my knees before I came among you."<sup>m</sup>

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<sup>m</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 176, 181, 182, 187.

## CHAPTER II.

The propagation of the gospel, one of the principal ends of the New-England colonies—Beneficial effects of the intercourse of the Indians with the English—Act for encouraging the preaching of the gospel among the Indians, passed by the government of Plymouth—Thomas Mayhew, jun. preaches to the Indians on Martha's vineyard—Act encouraging the propagation of the gospel, passed by the General Court of Massachusetts—Eliot resolves to act as an Evangelist—Account of the Indians among whom he proposed to labour—The motives which led him to attempt their conversion.

ONE of the principal objects which the persons who first proposed to settle in New-England had in view, was the propagation of the gospel among the Aborigines of that country. We find this to have been particularly the case with the members of the congregations of the pious Robinson, the founders of the first colony, who, reflecting on the fact, that God, in his wise providence, often makes the persecution of the church the means of its enlargement, considered it one of the greatest grounds of encouragement, to cross the Atlantic,

which they were permitted to entertain, that they might be instrumental in advancing the kingdom of Christ, in those remote parts of the world, where, from their desire to preserve their liberty of conscience, they were compelled to spend their days. The government at home likewise professed to be zealous for the conversion of the American Indians. James the First, in a proclamation which he issued in 1622, declared that the special motive which led him to encourage his plantations, in the new world, was his zeal for the advancement of Christianity ; and his son, Charles, in the charter which he granted to the colony of Massachusetts, in 1628, gave directions that the people from England " may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and excite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God, and Saviour of mankind, which, in our royal intention, and the adventurers' free profession, is the principal end of this plantation."<sup>a</sup>

The first settlers in New England were placed in such difficult circumstances, that their time was

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<sup>a</sup> Hazard's Historical Collections of State Papers, vol. i. p. 358, 151, 252.

almost altogether occupied in protecting their lives,—providing for their sustenance,—and cherishing the divine life in their own souls. They did not lose sight, however, of the deplorable condition of the poor savages ; but, as far as their intercourse with them permitted, they endeavoured to commend to them, by their lives and conversations, the religion of Jesus. In the year 1621, we find the Rev. Robert Cushman, of Plymouth colony, informing the public, in the epistle dedicatory to one of his sermons, that “ the English were content to bear the intrusions of the Indians, that they might see and take knowledge of their labours, orders, and diligence, both for this life and a better ;” that “ many of the younger sort were of a tractable disposition, both to religion and humanity ;” and that if “ God would send them means,” they would “ bring up hundreds of them to labour and learning ;” and that “ ends would not fail,” young men from England, “ who would be content to lay out their estates, and to endure hardships and difficulties, that they might further the gospel among the heathen.”<sup>b</sup>

The Indians could not view the Christian conduct of the English, without being led to inquire

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<sup>b</sup> Hazard, vol. i. p. 143, 149.



into the nature of those principles in which it originated; and accordingly we find, that, the curiosity of several of them having been excited in this way, they obtained a correct idea of the scheme of salvation, and the morality of the Bible.<sup>c</sup> A few of them, indeed, were deeply affected with what they had been taught concerning a future state, and the consequences of the final judgment.\* The Rev. Roger Williams, minister at

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<sup>c</sup> Hutchinson's *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, p. 161. Neal's *History of New-England*, vol. i. p. 161.

\* "This year, (1622) died Squanto, the friend of the English, who merits to have his name perpetuated in history. Squanto was one of the twenty Indians whom Hunt (in 1614) perfidiously carried to Spain, whence he came to London, and afterwards to his native country with the Plymouth colony. Forgetting the perfidy of those who made him a captive, he became a warm friend to the English, and continued so to the day of his death. A few days before his death, he desired the governor to pray that he might go to the Englishmen's God in heaven. *Morse's American Geography*, p. 163. We have a similar account of John, a Sagamore in Massachusetts. It is remarked concerning him, that he "sometimes praised the English and their God;" spoke of them as "much good men, much good God;" and, on his death-bed, sent for Mr Wilson, of Boston, and desired him to "teach his son to know the God of the English."—*Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, p. 151.

Salem,\* appears to have been instrumental, in a considerable degree, in rousing their attention to these important matters.<sup>d</sup>

In 1636, the government of Plymouth colony made several laws for preaching the gospel to the Indians,—for admitting English preachers among them,—and, with the concurrence of the principal chiefs, for constituting courts to punish misdemeanours.<sup>e</sup> About six years after this period, Mr Thomas Mayhew, jun. the son of the governor and patentee of Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth and Natucket Isles, began to labour among the Indians in the former of these places. †

The conversion of the Indians at length attracted the attention of the General Court of Massachusetts; and, in 1646, they passed their first act, encouraging the propagation of the gospel among them. At the same time, they recommended the ministers to consult about the best

\* See Appendix (A.)

<sup>d</sup> Key into the Language of America, in Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. iii. p. 206, 207.

<sup>e</sup> Abiel Holmes' American Annals, vol. i. p. 279.

† An account of Mr Mayhew's zealous and successful endeavours to propagate the gospel, is inserted in the Appendix (B).

means of carrying their benevolent intentions into effect, and shewed themselves disposed to countenance whatever measures they might adopt for this purpose. <sup>f</sup>

It appears that Mr Eliot, about the time when this act was passed, had been led seriously to consider the condition of the poor heathen with whom he was surrounded, and to long for their deliverance from the power of the prince of darkness. His mind must, therefore, have been cheered by the intimation of the purposes of government; and it is not to be wondered at, that, after solemnly inquiring into the duty which devolved on him as a minister of Christ, he should immediately resolve to attempt the work of propagating the gospel among the Indians to whom he had access. <sup>g</sup>

Before giving an account of his entrance on the work of a missionary, it is necessary to take a brief view of the character and circumstances of the people among whom he was called to labour. It is only in this way that a proper estimate can

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<sup>f</sup> Hutchinson, p. 161.

<sup>g</sup> Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England, in Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, vol i. p. 169.

be formed respecting the strength of the faith and love which he displayed in his future life,—that many of the occurrences which it may be proper to record can be understood,—and that the effects of his labours can be rightly appreciated.

When the British established their first colonies in New-England, there were about twenty or thirty different nations of Indians in that territory, which closely resembled one another in their external appearance, mode of living, form of government, language, religious views, and moral habits. The Indians of Massachusetts were supposed to be among the most populous of all these tribes; and though, owing to their residence on the sea-coasts, they had made some little progress in civilization, they were described by those who were acquainted with them, as “the most sordid and contemptible of the human race,” and “as the veriest ruins of mankind on the face of the earth.”

The Indians were remarkable for their strength, agility, and hardiness of constitution. Their clothing, which was very imperfect, was generally formed of the skins of beasts. They were exceedingly fond of decking themselves with fantastic ornaments, and of painting their bodies with ill-shapen figures of men, trees, and other natural objects; and accustomed to respect the individual

who could distinguish himself by any peculiarity in his appearance.


Their mode of living was such as is characteristic of a state of savagism. Their food, which was principally the produce of their hunting and fishing, and imperfectly cultivated grounds, experienced little preparation before it was used. They had no fixed time for taking their meals; and, owing to their extreme indolence and improvidence, they were frequently subjected to long fastings. They have been known, indeed, to abstain from food for several days together, and to live for a considerable time on a handful of meal and a spoonful of water. Comfort seems to have been an object which they had not in view, and which, from their ignorance of the most simple mechanical arts, they could not attain, in the construction of their huts or wigwams. These presented a mean<sup>d</sup> appearance, externally and internally, being commonly formed by young trees bent down to the ground and covered with rush mats, and having very few articles of furniture.

We cannot suppose that the family concerns of the Indians could be well regulated, when we consider that polygamy was prevalent among them; but there were other circumstances connected with them, which increased the bad effects

of this unnatural arrangement. The husband, instead of extending protection to his wives, uniformly made them the slaves of his slothfulness and caprice; and instead of employing his superior strength for the support of his family, prostituted it to the vile purpose of maintaining a cruel dominion over those whom he ought to have viewed with sentiments of kindness and endearment. In this state of things, the education of the young was an object which was almost entirely neglected.

All the Indian tribes acknowledged the authority of a chief, whom they called Sachem, or Sagamore, and to whom they were accustomed to render blind obedience. They viewed him as the legal proprietor of the whole territory, over which his authority extended; and, when inclined to raise crops, they solicited his permission of the cultivation of the lands.

The government of the Sachems was cruel in the extreme. They ordered their Paniese, or counsellors, who were generally the wisest, strongest, and most courageous men, who could be found in their dominions, to be early subjected to a severe discipline, and to perform many cruel exercises, with the view of being qualified for their office, and rendered capable of enduring the



greatest hardships. Though they pretended to be guided by the principles of justice, in the distribution of punishment, they made no proper distinctions between the degrees of guilt. From the custom which prevailed, of executing their own sentences, they not unfrequently took delight in the agonies of those whose lives and fortunes they conceived to be entirely at their disposal; and, from the humble submission which was generally rendered to them by the offenders, they found little difficulty in gratifying their evil inclinations, to any extent which they might desire. The only restraint, indeed, which they experienced, arose from the apprehension which they might entertain, lest their people should forsake them, and place themselves under the protection and government of other Sachems. While, however, they entertained all this disregard to humane feeling, they practised the rites of hospitality, and took particular care of the widow, the fatherless, the aged, and those who had no friends who were able to provide for them.

The language of the North American Indians was exceedingly barbarous. Dr Cotton Mather remarks, that "one would think that its words had been growing ever since Babel," and gives the following examples of the length of some of



them : " Nummatchekodtantamoocongannunonash, *our lusts* ; Noowomantammoonkanunonnash, *our loves* ; Kummogokdonattoottammooctitesongannunonash, *our questions*. With all its faults, however, it was found to be pretty copious ; and an European, who was master of it, was able to express the most abstract ideas in it, without much difficulty. This circumstance appears rather remarkable, when we consider that the Indians, previous to their acquaintance with the English, were entirely ignorant of the art of expressing their sentiments by writing.

The religion of these tribes, like that of all others who are sunk in heathenism, formed a dreadful example of the mental degradation and debasement of those who have not retained the knowledge of the true God in their minds ; and its principles afford a striking illustration of the perversity of the human heart. While they believed in a plurality of gods, who had made the different nations of the world ; and while they made gods of every thing which they believed to be great, powerful, beneficial, or hurtful, they conceived that there was one God, known by the names of Kichtan, and Woonand, who was superior to all the rest,—who dwelt in the south-west regions of the heavens,—who created the original



parents of mankind,—who, though never seen by the eye of man, was entitled to gratitude and respect, on account of his natural goodness, and the benefits bestowed by him,—and who was altogether unpropitious when offended. The principal object of their veneration, however, was Hobamock, or the evil deity. To him they frequently presented, as offerings and sacrifices, the most valuable articles which they possessed; and his favour they were most desirous of obtaining. Their powahs, or priests, pretended to have familiar intercourse with him; and they affirmed to the people, with the view of maintaining their authority over them, that he often appeared to them in the form of a man, a deer, an eagle, or a snake; and that they understood the method of procuring his kind regards, and averting his judgments.

It is worthy of notice, that the Indians were not accustomed to render adoration to idols; but though they said not to a stock, “Thou art our father, and to a stone, thou hast brought us forth,” they feared and served their powahs more than the being who created them. These priests were subtle, ambitious, and cruel; and, from the high pretences which they made, they found no difficulty in commanding the veneration of their

deluded votaries. They were constantly applied to for advice and protection ; and, by the practice of ridiculous tricks, and cruel ceremonies, they wrought effectually on the imaginations of their poor followers. Many wonderful stories are related about their skill in curing the sick, and leading the gods to satisfy their desires.

The morality of the American savages, as we may naturally expect from a consideration of their depraved theology, was extremely lax. Strangers to the gentle affections of mankind, they prosecuted their enemies with unrelenting cruelty, and seldom extended forgiveness to those who had offended them. They even considered themselves bound to avenge the injuries of their friends. A natural consequence of this was a frequency in wars,—in carrying on which they used bows and arrows, tomahawks, and scalping-knives. They were much addicted to lying, stealing, and impurity,—and they indulged in drunkenness, as far as they possessed the means of gratifying their desires in this respect. They delighted greatly in dancings and revellings, and wasted much of their time in gaming.

The Indians mourned much for the dead. When they came to a grave, they appeared to be deeply affected with grief ; and after they

finished an interment, they made great lamentation. They believed in the immortality of the soul,—but the joys of their heaven, which was supposed to be in the south-west, were entirely of a carnal kind.\*

Such is a brief account of the poor Pagans among whom Mr Eliot proposed to labour ; and it must be evident from it, that though their wretched condition loudly called for the interference of Christian benevolence, there were many circumstances connected with them, calculated to repel, and few to attract his attentions. The Holy Spirit, however, who had set him apart for the work of evangelizing them, had inspired him with those feelings and desires, which led him to overlook whatever was repugnant in their situation and character, and to trust in the efficacy of that word of God,—which is “ sharper than any two-

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\* Roger Williams' Key into the language of America, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. iii. p. 203—238. Winslow's Account of New-England, annexed to his Narrative of the Plantations, A. D. 1624, *apud* Belknap's American Biography, vol. ii. New-England's Plantation, London, 1630. Hutch. Hist. of Mass. Bay, chap. vi. Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. Mather, b. iii. p. 191—193,—b. vi. p. 50—53. Neal's Hist. New-England, vol. i. p. 22—46.

edged sword, and mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong-holds,"—and in the suitability of that gospel, which is "the wisdom and the power of God unto salvation, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." In this respect, his views were infinitely more just than those of some individuals, in the present day, who, overlooking the plainest declarations of the word of truth, and the most striking events in the history of the church, and of missions, are inclined to excuse their indolence, and want of faith, and want of feeling, by alleging, that man must be civilized, before an attempt should be made to Christianize him.

"Mr Eliot," says Major Gookin, in his *Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England*, "engaged in this great work of preaching unto the Indians, upon a very pure and sincere account; for I, being his neighbour and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprize, he was pleased to communicate unto me his design, and the motives that induced him thereunto; which, as I remember, were principally these three: *First*, the glory of God, in the conversion of some of these poor desolate souls. *Secondly*, his compassion and ardent affection to them, as of mankind in their great blindness and

ignorance. *Thirdly*, and not the least, to endeavour, as far as in him lay, the accomplishment and fulfilling the covenant and promise that New-England people had made to their king, when he granted them their patent or charter, viz. that one principal end of their going to plant these countries was, to communicate the gospel unto the native Indians. By that which hath been said in this particular, it doth evidently appear that they were heroic, noble, and Christian principles, that induced this precious servant of Christ to enter upon this work, and not any carnal or by-ends, for in those times nothing of outward encouragement did appear.”<sup>h</sup> Dr Mather gives a similar testimony to the exalted character of Mr Eliot’s motives for engaging in the work of an evangelist, and observes, that the “remarkable zeal of the Romish missionaries, compassing sea and land, that they might make proselytes, made his devout soul think of it with a further disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to evangelize the Indians.”<sup>i</sup>

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<sup>h</sup> Magnalia, b. iii. p. 191.

<sup>i</sup> Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc, vol. i. p. 170.

## CHAPTER III.

**Eliot acquires the Indian language—Account of his four first visits to the Indians, and the impressions produced by his sermons and conversations—His application to the General Court of Massachusetts in behalf of the Indians—Grant of land to the Indians by the Court—Nonanetum built under Eliot's direction—Progress of the Indians in civilization—Eliot establishes a lecture at Neponsitt—Extract from one of his letters relating his success in the conversion of the Indians—Facts illustrative of the preceding extract.**

THE first object to which Mr Eliot directed his attention, after he had resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to attempt the instruction of the Indians, was, the acquisition of their language. A perfect knowledge of this he conceived to be indispensably necessary to his success ; and accordingly he resolved to use whatever means were within his reach, with the view of being enabled to communicate the truths of the gospel to the poor heathen with whom he was surrounded.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 193.

“ God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor souls,” he remarks, “ and a desire to teach them to know Christ, and to bring them into his kingdom. Then presently I found out, by God’s wise providence, a pregnant witted young man, who had been a servant in an English house, who pretty well understood our language, better than he could speak it, and well understood his own language, and hath a clear pronunciation: him I made my interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and many texts of Scripture; also I compiled both exhortations and prayers by his help. I diligently marked the difference of their grammar from ours:—when I found the way of them, I would pursue a word, a noun, a verb, through all variations I could think of.—And thus I came at it.”<sup>b</sup>

By diligent application in this manner, he was soon able to preach to the Indians. His progress was very astonishing; but it is in some degree explained, when we consider the simplicity of his intentions,—the ardour of his mind,—and his dependence on divine grace.

He lost no time in entering on his labours, after he was able to communicate his ideas to the In-

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<sup>b</sup> Eliot’s Indian Grammar Begun, p. 66.

in an intelligible manner; and, on the 28th  
er, 1646, after having given due notice of  
entions, he set out, attended by three other  
ns, to preach his first sermon to them. The  
at which he had invited them to meet him,  
situated about four or five miles from his  
at Roxbury; and when he approached it,  
was met by Waban, "a wise and grave In-  
" and several of his friends, who conducted  
to a large wigwam, where a considerable  
regation had been collected from all quarters,  
the view of hearing the "new doctrines to  
ught by the English." After having prayed  
in English language, he was attentively lis-  
t to, while he declared the things which con-  
d the eternal peace of his auditory. In a  
on, which continued upwards of an hour,  
ve a clear and succinct account of the law  
od, and the dreadful curse of those who vio-  
its commandments,—of the character and  
of Jesus Christ,—of the blessed state of  
who embrace him by a true and living faith,—  
of the dreadful torment of the wicked in the  
of punishment. The impressions which  
his discourse produced, were of a very favourable  
e, and, as far as Waban was concerned, they  
never effaced. The poor Indians, having



been encouraged to propound any questions connected with the subject on which they had been addressed, availed themselves of the privilege, and afforded satisfactory evidence that their curiosity had been excited about their most important interests, and that they were desirous of knowing more of the counsel of God than had been declared to them. The questions which they proposed were such as the following:—"How can I come to know Jesus Christ? Were Englishmen ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as Indians? Can Jesus Christ understand prayers in the Indian language? How can there be an image of God, since it is forbidden in the second commandment? If the father be wicked, and the child good, will God be offended with that child, because in the second commandment it is said he visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children? How could all the world become full of people, if they were all once drowned in the flood?" These questions sufficiently prove the attention with which the Indians listened to their teacher; and Mr Eliot, having given them plain answers, and conversed with them for about three hours, returned home, considering it "a glorious and affecting spectacle, to see a company of perishing, forlorn outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered."

On the 11th of November, Mr Eliot and his friends again met the Indians, agreeably to an appointment which they had made with them, and had the pleasure of finding a larger company assembled, than on the occasion of their first visit. Mr Eliot, having directed his attention to the children who were present, taught them a few simple truths. He then turned to the adults, and having informed them that he came to bring them good news from God Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, he preached about an hour concerning the nature of the divine being,—the necessity of faith in Christ,—and the dreadful judgments of those who neglect the great salvation. One individual shed many tears during the sermon; and the whole audience appeared very serious, and listened with attention to the instructions delivered to them. As soon as they obtained liberty to ask questions for their further information, they took advantage of their teacher's kindness. An old man, with tears in his eyes, asked, "Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God?" Some others inquired, "How the Indians came to differ so much from the English in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all but one father? how it came to pass

that sea water was salt, and river water fresh? how it came to pass, that if the water was higher than the earth, it did not overflow the whole world? how may Indians come to know God?" Mr Eliot and his friends spent several hours in answering these and similar questions, and they had reason to believe that the Holy Spirit gave testimony to the truth declared. During the concluding prayer, an event occurred of the most interesting nature. "I cast my eye on one," says one of Mr Eliot's friends, "who was hanging down his head weeping. He held up his head for a while,—yet such was the power of the word on his heart, that he hung down his head again, and covered his eyes again, and so fell wiping and wiping of them, weeping abundantly, continuing thus till prayer was ended; after which he presently turns from us, and turns his face to a side and corner of the wigwam, and there falls a weeping more abundantly by himself; which one of us perceiving, went to him, and spake to him encouraging words, at the hearing of which he fell a weeping more and more: so leaving of him, he who spake to him came unto me, being newly gone out of the wigwam, and told me of his tears; so we resolved to go again both of us to him, and speak to him again. We met him coming out

wigwam, and there we spake again to him ; there fell into a more abundant renewed joy, like one deeply and inwardly affected which forced us also to such bowels of compassion, that we could not forbear weeping also,—and so we parted, greatly rejoicing such sorrowing.”

The result of these two visits was very pleasing to Mr Eliot, and he resolved to continue his labours. On the 26th of the month, next, when he met the Indians for the third time he found, that, though many of them had discarded wigwams at the place of meeting, in view of more readily attending the mission of the word, his audience was not so numerous as on the former occasions. The powahs strictly charged the people not to listen to the notions of the English, and threatened them with death, in the case of disobedience. Mr Eliot, having warned his auditors against the influence of these priests, proceeded to discourse fearlessly. He was heard with the greatest attention, and some of the Indians were deeply affected by his sermon. “ It is wonderful,” observed one of his friends, when writing on this subject, “ to see what a little leaven will work, the spirit of Christ hath the setting it on,—

even upon hearts and spirits most incapable. An English youth, of good capacity, who lodged in Waban's wigwam, on the night after the third meeting, assured us, that the same night Waban instructed all his company out of the things which he had heard that day from the preacher, and prayed among them; and waking often that night, continually fell to praying, and speaking to some or other, of the things which he had heard.\* Two or three days after these impressions had been made, Mr Eliot had the satisfaction of finding that they were likely to be attended with permanent consequences. Wampas, an intelligent Indian, came with two of his companions to the English, and desired to be admitted into their families. He brought his son, and several other children with him, and begged that they might be educated in the Christian faith, "because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should do, if they were constantly among the English." The example of these individuals was of a very salutary nature; and all the Indians who were present at the fourth meeting, on the 9th December, offered their children to be instructed.†

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\* The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the

Eliot was greatly encouraged by this success which attended his first mislabours ; and, perceiving that the Indians desired of adopting the arts of civilized life, desired that he should sit still and let that one," and lost no time in addressing him—the General Court of the colony, in behalf of those who shewed a willingness to be under his care. His application was successful ; and the Indians, having received from the colony a piece of land, on which they might build a town, and enjoy the Christian instruction which he desired, met together, and gave their assent to several laws, which had been framed for the purpose of enforcing industry and decency, and for the promotion of personal and domestic comfort, under which must have presented to them a sufficient motive to obedience.

The ground of the town having been marked out, Eliot advised the Indians to surround it with palisades, and a stone wall ; and gave them directions for accomplishing these objects, and rewards in money as induced them to work

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with the Indians in New-England, London, 1—35. Neal's History of New-England, vol. 1—226.

hard. He soon had the pleasure of seeing Nonantum completed, and observing that the wigwams erected in it were equal to those of the Sachems in other places, and in some respects more comfortable, on account of their being divided into several apartments.

The progress in civilization, which followed these arrangements, was remarkable for its extent. The women, who were formerly the cultivators of the soil, began to learn to spin, and to make several little articles, which, in winter, they disposed of at the neighbouring markets. They also sold cranberries, strawberries, and fish, in spring; and huckleberries, grapes, and fish, in summer. Mr Eliot instructed the men in husbandry, and the more simple mechanical arts. In hay-time and harvest, they assisted the English in the fields; but they were neither so industrious, nor so capable of hard labour, as those who had been accustomed to it from early life.

Mr Eliot's efforts for the civilization of the Indians, afforded great delight to the rulers of the colony; and they resolved to co-operate with him as far as they were able. On the 26th May, 1647, they passed an act, establishing courts of judicature among them,—authorizing the appropriation of all the fines which the magistrates might

receive, to the education of the children,—and requiring Mr Eliot to explain the reasonableness of the English laws.<sup>d</sup>

While Mr Eliot was thus encouraged by the success with which he met at Nonanetum,—the attention which was paid to him by the rulers of the colony,—and the disposition shewn by the Indians to listen to his instructions, he resolved to establish another lecture at a place called Nepositt, within the bounds of the settlement of Dorchester, about four miles south from Roxbury. Cutshamoquin, a Sachem, and several intelligent Indians, lived at this place; and Mr Eliot continued to address them, as often as he could find opportunities.<sup>e</sup> The following extract from one of his letters, dated the 24th September, 1647, refers to his labours at this place, as well as at Nonanetum, and shews that the word of God had come home to the souls of the poor Pagans, in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.

“ The effect of the word which appears among

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<sup>d</sup> The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians; by Mr Thomas Shepard, Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, at Cambridge, in New-England, London, 1648, p. 15, 16.

<sup>e</sup> Goskin, in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 169.



them, and the change which is among them, is this : They have utterly forsaken all their powaws, and given over that diabolical exercise, being convinced that it is quite contrary to praying unto God ; yea, sundry of their powaws have renounced their wicked employment,—have condemned it as evil,—and resolved never to use it any more.—

“ They pray unto God constantly in their families, morning and evening, and that with great affection, as hath been seen and heard by sundry that have gone to their wigwams at such times ; as also, when they go to meat, they solemnly pray and give thanks to God, as they see the English do.—When they come to English houses, they desire to be taught ; and, if meat be given them, they pray and give thanks to God ; and usually express their great joy that they are taught to know God, and their great affection to them that teach them. They are careful to instruct their children, and they are also strict against any profanation of the Sabbath, by working, fishing, hunting, &c.—

“ In my exercise among them, we attend four things beside prayer unto God. *First*, I catechize the children and youth,—wherein some are very ready and expert. *Secondly*, I preach unto them

out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainness and brevity,—unto which many are very attentive. *Thirdly*, If there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure,—unto which they submit themselves reverently and obediently, and confess their sins with much plainness, and without shiftings and excuses. *Fourthly*, The last exercise we have among them, is their asking us questions,—and very many they have asked, which I have forgotten; but some few that come to my remembrance I will briefly touch. ‘Before I knew God,’ said Catechismoquin, ‘I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinful than ever it was before,—and this hath been a great trouble to me; and at this day my heart is but very little better than it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad again as I have been. Now my question is, whether is this a sin or not?’ Another great question was this: When I preached out of 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 11. old Mr Brown, being present, observed them to be much affected, and one especially did weep very much; and after that there was a general question, ‘Whether any of them should go to heaven, seeing they found their hearts full of sin?’ The next meeting being at Dorchester-Mill, they did there propound it,

expressing their fears that none of them should be saved; which did draw forth my heart to preach and press the promise of pardon to all that were weary and sick of sin; and this doctrine some of them, in a special manner, did receive in a very reverend manner. This very day I have been with the Indians, and one of their questions was, to know what to say to such Indians as oppose their praying to God, and believing in Jesus Christ. 'What get you,' say they, 'by praying to God, and believing in Jesus Christ? you go naked still, and you are as poor as we, and our corn is as good as yours, and we take more pleasure than you. Did we see that you got any thing by it, we would pray to God and believe in Jesus Christ also.' I answered them, First, God giveth unto us two sorts of good things: one sort are little things,—the other sort are great ones. The little mercies are riches,—as clothes, food, sack, houses, cattle, and pleasures; these are little things which serve but for our bodies a little while in this life. The great mercies are wisdom,—the knowledge of God,—Christ,—eternal life,—repentance,—faith; these are mercies for the soul and for eternal life. Now, though God do yet give you the little mercies, he giveth you that which is a great deal better, which the wicked

Indians cannot see. And this I proved to them by this example:—When Foxun, the Mohegan counsellor, who is counted the wisest Indian in the country, was in the Bay, I did on purpose bring him unto you,—and when he was here, you saw he was a fool in comparison of you ; for you could speak of God and Christ, and heaven and repentance, and faith, but he sat and had not one word to say, unless you talked of hunting, wars, &c. Secondly, you have some more clothes than they ; and the reason why you have no more, is, because you have but a little wisdom. If you were more wise, to know God, and obey his commandments, you would work more than you do, for God commandeth, *Six days shalt thou work.*—

“ There do sundry times fall out differences among them, and they usually bring their cases to me, and sometimes such as it is needful for me to decline. Their young men, who of all the rest live most idly and dissolutely, now begin to go to service. They moved for a school, and through God’s mercy a course is now taken, that there be schools at both places where their children are taught.”

“ Dear brother, I can go no further ; a weary body, and sleepy eyes, command me to conclude, and desiring your prayers for God’s grace and blessing upon my spirit, and poor endeavours, I

take leave at this time, and rest your loving brother in our Saviour Christ.<sup>f</sup>

JOHN ELIOT.

“ Though Mr Eliot,” to use the words of one of his brethren in the ministry, when he referred to the letter from which the preceding extracts are taken, “ writes as his spirit is, modestly and sparingly, and speaks the *least* in sundry particulars ;” yet he adduces very satisfactory proofs that the divine blessing had accompanied his labours. As illustrative of this interesting subject, however, we shall here subjoin a few facts related on the authority of the Rev. Thomas Shepard.

On the 3rd of March, 1647, Messrs Shepard, Wilson, Allen, and Dunstar, four of the ministers in New-England, accompanied by many Christian friends, went to Nonanetum with the view of attending Mr Eliot’s Indian lecture. They had the pleasure of witnessing this interesting service, and engaging in conversation with the converts who were present. The questions proposed on this occasion, both by the men and the women,\* evinced a progress in the divine life,

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<sup>f</sup> Shepard’s Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel, p. 18—29.

\* Because we knew how unfit it was for women so

which was truly cheering. The ministers remarked, that "they saw the Lord Jesus leading the Indians to make narrow inquiries into the things of God," and expressed their fervent gratitude for the influences of the Spirit which had been poured out on their souls.

In the summer of the same year, Mr Whitfield again visited the Indians, at Nonanetum. He was struck with astonishment at their appearance; and, from their general behaviour, and decent apparel, he could scarcely distinguish them from the English people. On the 9th of June, a meeting of a Synod was held at Cambridge; and with the view of confirming the reports which had been spread respecting the work of the Lord among the Indians, and of exciting a spirit of prayer on their behalf among the churches, Mr Eliot was requested on this occasion to convene them in the afternoon, and to address them from the word of God. He collected a large company, and preached to them concerning their miserable con-

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much as to ask questions publicly immediately by themselves; we did therefore desire them to propound any questions they would be resolved about, by first acquainting either their husbands or the interpreter privately therewith."—*Shepard's Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel*, p. 6.

dition without Christ, from Ephesians ii. 1. "You hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins." When his sermon was finished, a considerable time, as usual, was spent in conversation with the Indians, who deeply impressed the English by their anxiety to obtain knowledge, and by the simplicity with which they received the truth. "Their gracious attention to the word of God," remarks Mr Shepard, "the affections and murmurings of some of them under it,—their sober pondering of divers spiritual questions,—their openness to understand and believe what was replied to them,—the readiness of divers poor naked children to answer openly the chief questions in the catechism, which were formerly taught them,—and such like appearances of a great change upon them, did marvellously affect all the wise and godly ministers, magistrates, and people, and did raise up their hearts to great thankfulness to God; very many deeply and abundantly mourning for joy, to see such a blessed day, and the Lord Jesus so much spoken of among such as never heard of him before."

At the conclusion of one of Mr Elliot's sermons, the aged man, to whom allusion has already been made, so deeply affected by the ministry of the word, addressed his countrymen in the most ener-

getic and earnest manner ; and praised the goodness which God had manifested to the Indians, in sending his word to remove their darkness and ignorance.

Sometime were many of the questions proposed by the Indians, and so deeply expressive of concern for their souls, that Mr Edward Jackson, a respectable gentleman, was induced regularly to attend Mr Eliot, for the purpose of noting them for his own improvement. He furnished Mr Shepard with a long list of these questions, from which a few are here selected :—“ Why are some men so bad that they hate those men that would teach them good things ? If a father pray to God to teach his sons to know him, and he teach them himself, and they will not learn to know God, what should such a father do ? How long is it before men believe that have the word of God made known to them ? If we be made weak by sin in our hearts, how can we come before God to sanctify a Sabbath.\*

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\* “ There is need of learning in ministers who preach to Indians, much more than to Englishmen, and gracious Christians ; for these had sundry philosophical questions, which some knowledge of the arts must help to give answer to, and without which these would not have been satisfied. Worse than Indian ignorance hath blinded



Mr Jackson, in passing some of the wigwams a little after sunrise, observed one of the Indians engaged in prayer, and was so much affected by the earnestness displayed, that he considered that God was fulfilling his declaration, that "the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and tute unto him." On another occasion he observed a father call his children from their work in the field, and devoutly crave a blessing, in their behalf, on some parched corn to be used for their dinner.

On the 13th October, Mr Eliot preached on the words, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." When he had concluded his discourse, he was asked by the Indians about the opinions which Englishmen formed respecting him when he came among wicked Indians to teach them. From some other questions which were proposed to him, he was led to conclude that the converts entertained the desire of teaching their ignorant countrymen.

At a funeral, on the 7th of the same month, which was conducted in the most decent manner, one of the Indians, named Tutaswampe, prayed for half an hour. While he was engaged in this

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their eyes that renounce learning as an enemy to gospel ministers."

exercise, the Indians were so deeply affected that the woods "rang with their sighs and prayers." A gentleman, who witnessed this earnestness in devotion, remarked, that he was ashamed of himself and his friends, who, with all their knowledge, fell greatly behind their lately barbarous brethren. "God was with Eliot,—and the sword of God's word will pierce deep when the hand of a mighty Redeemer hath the laying it on."\*

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\* Shepard's *Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel*, p. 6, 8, 10—15, 36, 37.

## CHAPTER IV.

The Indians at Concord adopt a code of laws for their civil government, and desire Eliot to prepare them—He extends his labours to Yarmouth-tucket, and other places—Extract from one of his letters—Account of some of the difficulties with which he had to contend—Interest excited in England in his missionary labours—The Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New-England formed by act of parliament—Eliot's gratitude for the exertions of parliament—He protests against his being spoken of as an Indian Evangelist.

THE awakening of the Indians at Nonanet and Neponsitt, raised a great noise among their neighbours, in different parts of the country; and Eliot, who was unwearied in his endeavours to promote their salvation, was desirous that his labours should be extended as widely as possible.

A Sachem, from Concord, having attended one of the lectures, was so much affected by it that he desired to forsake his barbarous habits, and to conform to the manners of the English. He informed his chief men with his intentions on this subject.

pointed out the increased comfort which might be expected from the change which he contemplated,—and entreated them to support his views. He was so far successful in his endeavours, that they requested one of the most active and intelligent Indians at Nonanetum, to assist them in forming a code of laws for their civil and religious government,—expressed a desire to have a town granted to them, in which they might settle,—and entreated Mr Eliot to preach to them as often as he could find opportunities.

The regulations which they adopted for the management of their affairs, and which were dated at Concord, “in the end of the eleventh month, 1647,” were on the whole very judicious. They strictly prohibited intemperance, iniquity, powwung, falsehood, gambling, and quarrels, under severe fines; threatened murder and adultery, with death; and enjoined neatness, cleanliness, industry, the payment of debts, and the observance of the other duties of morality.

The Indians at Concord, however, did not rest satisfied with consenting to observe these regulations. They appointed a respectable Englishman as a recorder, to see them carried into execution; and they generally abandoned their savage habits. They established the worship of God in their

families ; and, according to their ability, they addressed themselves, morning and evening, to the Father of mercies, who has graciously promised to hear the faithful prayers of the most humble supplicants. They observed the Sabbath, and employed some of its precious hours in repeating to one another the religious instructions, which, under all their disadvantages, they had obtained.\*

Towards the close of 1647, Mr Eliot was invited to attend a meeting of his brethren in the ministry, held at Yarmouth, with the view of settling some very unhappy disputes, which had been productive of the worst effects in the church at that place. He was made highly useful on this occasion to his English friends ; but he did not lose sight of the poor heathen who were within his reach. In the exercise of his characteristic diligence, he embraced every opportunity of declaring to them the glad news of salvation. When he first addressed them, he found that he could scarcely render his instructions intelligible, on account of his ignorance of that dialect of the Indian language which they spoke. By the aid of interpreters, however, and by using his admirable talent

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\* Shepard's Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians, p. 2—6.

of adapting himself to the situation of his hearers, by circumlocution, and variation of expression, he was, in a short time, enabled to explain divine truths to those who were altogether unacquainted with Christianity. His labours were not in vain in the Lord. Though Papassaconnoway, the principal Sachem, and his two sons, refused to listen to the gospel, salutary impressions were produced on the minds of several of the Indians. These individuals were greatly encouraged by some of their brethren from Nonanetum, who exhibited a Christian example, and discoursed about the things which concerned the peace of their souls. Waban, who had attended Mr Eliot to Yarmouth, laboured assiduously for the spiritual improvement of his barbarous neighbours. He travelled over a considerable part of the country, declared what the Lord had done to enlighten his mind, and met with such success in his benevolent exertions, that Mr Shepard, who was well acquainted with him, felt himself at liberty to state, that "many, unto whom he first breathed encouragement, did far exceed him in the light and life of the things of God.<sup>b</sup>"

Mr Eliot was delighted to find that the Indians

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<sup>b</sup> Shepard's Clear Sun-Shine, p. 8, 9, 32, 33.

throughout the colony of Massachusetts were generally disposed to listen to the truth ; but was soon called to contend with many difficulties in the prosecution of his labours. Encouraged however, by his divine master, he did not relax his efforts.

“ The work of preaching to these poor Indians he writes, in a letter addressed to the Honorable Winthrop, “ goeth on not without success. It is the Lord only who doth speak to the hearts of men, and he can speak to them, and do it effectually, that one of them I believe has gone to the Lord :—a woman, who was then of ripe years, who hath died since I taught her the way of salvation. Her life was blessed after she submitted to the gospel.—She died of a sickness which she took in child-bed.—I sometimes visited her, prayed with her, and asked about her spiritual estate. She told me that she still loved God, though he made her sick, and was resolved to pray unto him so long as she lived. She said also that she believed God would pardon all her sins, because she believed that Jesus Christ died for her, and that God was well-pleased in her, and that she was willing to die, and believed she would go to heaven, and live happy with God and Christ there. Of her own accord she called

children to her, and said to them, ' I shall now die, and when I am dead, your grandfather, and grandmother, and uncles, will send for you to come and live among them, and promise you great matters, and tell you what pleasant living ~~is~~ amongst them,—for they pray not to God, keep not the Sabbath, and commit all manner of sins, but I charge you to live here all your days.' Soon after this she died.

" For the further progress of the work among them, I perceive a great impediment. Sundry in the country, in different places, would gladly be taught the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, and would pray unto God, if I could go unto them, and teach them where they dwell ; but to come and live here, among, or near to the English, they are not willing. A place must be found somewhat remote from the English, where they must have the word constantly taught, and government constantly exercised, means of good subsistence, and encouragements for the industrious provided.—Such a project would draw many that are well-minded together.—

" Few of our southern Indians incline this way, only some of Tihtacut ; our western Indians more earnestly embrace the gospel. Shawanon, the great Sachem of Nashawog, doth embrace the



gospel and pray unto God. I have been four times there this summer, and there be more people by far than amongst us: sundry of them do gladly hear the word of God. But they are forty miles distant, and I can but seldom go to them.

“ There is a great fishing place upon one of the falls of Merrimack river, called Pantucket, where is a great confluence of Indians every spring, and thither I have gone these two years in that season, and intend to do so the next spring. Such confluences are like fairs in England, and a fit season it is to come then unto them. At those great meetings there is praying to God; and good conference and observation of the Sabbath, by such as are well-minded; and my coming among them is very acceptable in outward appearance. This last spring I did there meet old Papassaconnoway, who is a great Sagamore. Last year he and all his sons fled when I came; but this year it pleased God to bow his heart to hear the word. I preached from Malachi, i. 11. whence I shewed them what mercy God had promised to them, and that the time was now come wherein the Lord did begin to call them to repentance, and to believe in Christ for the remission of their sins, and to give them a heart to call upon his name. When I had done speaking they began to propound questions.

ar a good space, this old Papasconnoway  
 ke to this purpose. ' Indeed I have never  
 yed unto God as yet, for I have never heard  
 God before, as now I do. I am purposed in  
 heart from thenceforth to pray unto God, and  
 persuade all my sons to do the same.' His  
 a present, especially his eldest son, who is  
 chem at Wadchaset, gave his willing consent to  
 at his father had promised, and so did the other,  
 so was but a youth. And this act of his was  
 ; only a present motion that soon vanished, but  
 good while after he spake to Captain Willard,  
 so tradeth with them in those parts for beaver  
 d otter skins, &c. that he would be glad if I  
 uld come and live in some place thereabouts,  
 teach them, and that Captain Willard would  
 e their also ; and that if any good ground or  
 ce that he had would be acceptable to me, he  
 uld willingly let me have it. I do endeavour  
 engage the Sachems of greatest note to accept  
 e gospel, because that doth greatly animate and  
 courage such as are well affected, and is a damp-  
 ; to those that are scoffers and opposers, for  
 ny such there be, though they dare not appear  
 before me.

" Thus you see by this short intimation that  
 e sound of the word is spread a great way, yea

further than I will speak of; and it appeareth to me that the fields begin to look white unto the harvest. Oh that the Lord would be pleased to raise up labourers unto this harvest! But it is difficult not only in respect of the language, but also on account of their barbarous course of life and poverty. There is not so much as meat, drink, or lodging, for them that go unto them to preach among them, but we must carry all things with us, and somewhat to give unto them. I never go unto them empty, but carry somewhat to distribute among them; and so, likewise, when they come unto my house, I am not willing they should go away without some refreshing, neither do I take any gratuity from them unrewarded.—

“ There is another great fishing-place about threescore miles from us, whither I intend, (God willing) to go next spring, which belongeth to the forenamed Papasaconnaway; which journey, though it be like to be both difficult and chargeable for horse and men, in fitting provisions, yet I have sundry reasons whom bow and draw my heart thereunto.—

“ The Indians about us, whom I constantly teach, do still diligently and desirously attend, and in a good measure practise according to their knowledge, and by degrees come on to labour.

And I will say this solemnly, not suddenly nor lightly, but before the Lord, as I apprehend it in my conscience, were they but in a settled way of civility and government, cohabiting together, and I called to live among them, I durst freely join into church-fellowship among them, and could find out at least twenty men and women in some measure fitted of the Lord for it, and soon would be capable thereof. When God's time is come he will make way for it, and enable us to accomplish it. In the meantime I desire to wait, pray, and believe. Thus commending you to the grace, guidance, and protection of God in Christ, I rest yours to be commanded in Jesus Christ,

JO. ELIOT.\*

*Roxbury, this 12th }  
of Nov. 1648. }*

In the preceding letter, Mr Eliot alludes to some of the difficulties which he experienced in the prosecution of his labours; and, when the situation of the Indians is considered, it cannot appear wonderful, that, devoted as he was to the work of instructing them, he must have endured

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\* The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, published by Edward Winslow, London 1649, p. 6—14.

many severe hardships. In the consideration of the fact, however, that he was engaged in the service of Christ ; that it was enough for the disciple to be as his master ; and that he had many precious promises on which to rely, he rejoiced, even when many weary days and weary nights rolled over his head, and when he was in perils by the heathen, and in perils in the wilderness.<sup>d</sup> “ I have not been dry night nor day,” he writes, “ from the third day of the week to the sixth, ~~but~~ have travelled from place to place in that condition ; and at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. The rivers also were raised so as that we were wet in riding through. But God steps in and helps me. I have considered the exhortation of Paul to his son Timothy, *Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ*, with many other such like meditations.”

When travelling through the wild parts of the country, without a friend or companion, he was often barbarously treated by the natives, and was even in danger of his life. The Sachems were greatly opposed to the truth, and viewed its progress as calculated to destroy their authority and

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<sup>d</sup> Mather, b. iii, p. 196.

their gain. They therefore plotted his destruction, and would certainly have put him to a most tormenting death, if they had not been awed by the power of the English colonists.\* Undismayed by their opposition, however, he persevered in his labours of love, and manifested a courage which the gospel can only inspire. "The Sachems of this country," he observes, "are generally set against us, and counterwork the Lord by keeping their men from praying to God as much as they can. They plainly see that religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny. This temptation hath much troubled Cutshamoquin, our Sachem; and he was raised in his spirit to such an height, that, at a meeting after lecture, he openly contested with me about our proceeding to make a town, and plainly told me that all the Sachems in the country were against it. When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear; their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away; a few stayed, and I was alone. But it pleased God to raise up my spirit, not to passion, but to a bold resolution, telling him it was God's work I was about, and He was with me; and I

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\* Neal's History of New-England, vol. i. p. 233.

feared not him, nor all the Sachems in the country, and I was resolved to go on, do what they can; and that neither they nor he should hinder that which I had begun;—and it pleased God that his spirit sunk before me. I did not aim at such a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and went. After this brunt I took my leave to go home, and Cutahamoquin went a little way with me, and told me, that the reason of this trouble was, because the Indians that pray to God, since they have so done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done. I answered him, that once before, when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, “Give unto Cesar what is Cesar’s, and unto God what is God’s;” and also on Romans xiii. But he said, ‘It is true, you teach them well, but they will not at that point do as you teach them.’ And further, he said, ‘This thing are all the Sachems sensible of, and therefore set themselves against praying to God.’ Then I was troubled, lest if they should be sinfully unjust, they should both hinder and blemish the gospel and religion.—But the bottom of it lieth here: He formerly had all, or what he would, now he hath but what they will, and admonitions to rule better.—I thought it a difficult

thing to ease his spirit, and yet clear and justify the people.<sup>f</sup>

The opposition of the powaws was no less formidable than that of the Sachems. Their prejudices were powerfully excited by the progress of the gospel, and their influence greatly diminished. They endeavoured therefore to discourage Mr Eliot,—to bias the minds of the Indians against the reception of the truth,—and to work on their superstitious fears. Some of the converts displayed wonderful intrepidity, however, when assailed by these whom they formerly viewed with feelings approaching to those of devotion.<sup>g</sup>

Instead of being overcome by his trials, Mr Eliot appears rather to have been distressed with the thought that the friends of the gospel should be discouraged on his account. He addressed a letter to Mr Winslow, when this gentleman was residing in Britain, “because he feared that” from the reports about the opposition which was raised

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<sup>f</sup> *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day; or, a Further Discovery of the State of the Indians in New-England, manifested by letters from such as preached to them there; by H. Whitfield, London, 1651, p. 27, 26.*

<sup>g</sup> Neal's *New-England*, vol. i. p. 233.



in New-England, " he should receive some discouragement concerning the work."<sup>h</sup> On another occasion, when he gave a description of the difficulties with which he and his people had to contend, he took such a calm and enlightened view of them, as completely proved that he exercised unshaken confidence in the wisdom and faithfulness of the divine dispensations, when to the eye of sense they appeared to be possessed of the opposite character. " I believe verily," said he, " that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions ; nay, I see it already, (though I see it not all, I believe more than I can see) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society. Besides, it has become some trial now, to come into our company and call upon God ; for besides the forsaking of their powaws, and their old barbarous habits to all sin, and some of their friends and kindred, &c. ; now this is added, they incur the displeasure of their Sachems ; all which put together, it cannot but appear there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares."<sup>i</sup>

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<sup>h</sup> Winslow's Glorious Progress of the Gospel, p. 18.

<sup>i</sup> Whitfield's Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day, p. 41.

While he was thus enabled to triumph over the opposition to which he was exposed, he never ceased to exercise holy watchfulness, and to remember, that, while it was by the grace of God that he could obtain any deliverance or victory, he was bound to use all prudent means for his own preservation and that of his Indian flock. "But though this trouble and opposition is turned," he remarked, "(and shall be more) unto a spiritual aim, yet it behoveth us not to be secure and regardless of our safety; for if the adversary should discern us naked and weak, and see an opportunity, who knoweth what their rage, and Satan's malice may stir up to work us mischief? Nay, it is our duty to be vigilant, and fortify ourselves the best we can, thereby to put the enemy out of hope to hurt us, and to prevent them from attempting any evil against us.—When we have used the best means we can, I hope the Lord will help us to trust in his great name, to make that our strong tower to flee unto."<sup>1</sup>

We have now been enabled to contemplate a considerable portion of the success which attended Mr Eliot's exertions, and to see some illustrations of the spirit with which he laboured. It

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<sup>1</sup> Whitfield's *Light appearing*, p. 41, 42.

cannot then appear wonderful, that the work of evangelizing the Indians should have attracted considerable attention in England, and led to the adoption of measures which were calculated to promote its progress.

The first account of Mr Eliot's labours, presented to the British public, appeared in the year 1647. It was contained in a pamphlet entitled, "The Day-breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England;" and it excited grateful feelings in the minds of many of the friends of the Saviour throughout the country, and an ardent desire for additional information on the subject to which it referred. In consequence of this circumstance, the Rev. Thomas Shepard, minister of the gospel at New Cambridge, was induced to compose a similar narrative, under the title of "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians." It was published under the patronage of Marshall, Whitaker, Calamy, and other eminent ministers residing in and near London, and was dedicated "To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament," that "in them England might be stirred up to be rejoicers in, and advancers of these promising beginnings," and that encouragement might be af-

ded to Mr Eliot, and the other individuals who re engaged in advancing the interests of the messiah's kingdom abroad.\* †

The parliament cordially entered into the views the ministers who addressed them, and felt at interest in the work which had been re- tated as going forward in America. They were used to refer the consideration of the encou- ragement which was due to Mr Eliot and his as- siates, to the Committee of Foreign Plantations, whom they requested to prepare and bring in an linance *for the encouragement and advancement learning and piety in New-England.* The ommittee acted agreeably to their instructions;

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° It is proper here to observe, that the Parliament had m petitioned to aid the propagation of the gospel in rth America, about the year 1644, by "William stell, parson of Courtenhall, in Northampton-shire." : Castell's petition was recommended "to the most h and honourable court," by about seventy English alsters; and by Messrs Alexander Henderson, Robert sir, R. Baillie, G. Gillespy, N. Smith, and M. Borth- k, of the Church of Scotland. It is printed in full, a collection of voyages and travels, London, 1745, and Hazard's State Papers, vol. i. p. 527—532.

† Dedication to Shepard's Clear Sun-Shine.

and, though some delay took place in following out the measures recommended in their report, the high court of the nation passed an act, with the view of encouraging the evangelizing of the Indians, and supporting those engaged in this work. This act was dated 27th July, 1649, and was highly creditable to the understandings and hearts of those who framed it. As it contains a decided and impartial testimony to the beneficial consequences of the labours of Mr Eliot and his associates, and makes us acquainted with the means which enabled them to continue and extend their operations, the following breviatè, which was printed and distributed in England, is here inserted :

“ Whereas the Commons of England, assembled in parliament, have received certain intelligence from divers godly ministers and others in New-England, that divers of the heathen natives, through the pious care of some godly English, who preach the gospel to them in their own Indian language, not only of barbarous are become civil, but many of them forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries, and other satanical delusions, do now call on the name of the Lord, and give great testimony of the power of God drawing them from

death and darkness to the light and life of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, which appeareth by their lamenting with tears their misspent lives ; teaching their children what they are instructed themselves,—being careful to place them in godly families and English schools,—betaking themselves to one wife, putting away the rest ; and by their constant prayers to Almighty God, morning and evening in their families, expressed in all appearance, with much devotion and zeal of heart. All which considered, we cannot but, in behalf of the nation whom we represent, rejoice and give glory to God for the beginning of so glorious a propagation of the gospel among these poor heathen, which cannot be prosecuted with that expedition as is desired, unless fit instruments be encouraged and maintained to pursue it,—schools and clothing be provided,—and many other necessaries. Be it therefore enacted by this present parliament, that, for the furthering of so good a work, there shall be a corporation in England, consisting of sixteen, viz. a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants ; and that William Steele, Esq. Herbert Pelham, Esq. James Shirley, Abraham Babington, Robert Houghton, Richard Hutchinson, George Dun, Robert Tomson, William Mullins, John Hodgson, Edward Parks, Edward Clud, Richard Lloyd, (or Floyd) Thomas

Aires, John Stone, and Edward Winslow, citizens of London, be the sixteen persons ; out of whom, the said sixteen persons, or the greater number of them, shall chuse one of the said sixteen to be president, another to be treasurer.—They, or any nine of them, to appoint a common seal. And be it enacted, that a general collection be made for the purposes aforesaid, through all England and Wales,—and that the ministers read this act, and exhort the people to a cheerful contribution to so pious a work.” Henry Scobell, cleric parlia.<sup>1</sup>

The commissioners of the united colonies of New-England were appointed by parliament to receive and dispose of the monies which might be collected in consequence of this act. Great opposition, however, was manifested to its benevolent intentions ; and though the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford published letters, recommending the case of the Indians to the consideration of the ministers of the gospel, the sums which were raised at first were very inconsiderable. They assisted, however, materially, in ad-

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix to “The Conversion of Five Thousand and Nine Hundred East Indians, in the Isle of Formosa,” London, 1650, p. 32, 33.

vancing the great work in North America; and as they were found to be economically applied by the commissioners, the people of England soon became somewhat more favourable to the claims of the corporation.<sup>m</sup>

Previously to the formation of this society, Mr Eliot had received no salary on account of his indefatigable labours among the Indians. He rejoiced to seek the salvation of their souls, independently of the encouragement of his fellow-creatures, knowing that while he was enabled to do this, he would enjoy the unspeakable consolations of the Spirit of God, and receive all necessary worldly comforts. He was particularly grateful, however, to the parliament for their benevolent exertions, and he expressed his obligations to them in the terms of the warmest affection. "Now this glorious work of bringing in, and setting up the glorious kingdom of Christ," he writes, "hath the Lord, of his free grace and mercy, put it into the hands of this renowned parliament and army. Lord put it into all their hearts to make this design of Christ their main

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<sup>m</sup> Hazard, vol. i. p. 635. Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. Bay, p. 165. Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 212.



endeavour ! When the Lord Jesus is about to set up his blessed kingdom among these poor Indians also, how well doth it become the spirit of such instruments in the hands of Christ to promote that work also, being the same business in some respect which themselves are about by the good hand of God !"<sup>a</sup>

Honourable as Mr Eliot conceived the work of evangelizing the Indians to be, and grateful as he was to find that the inhabitants of his native country were disposed to encourage it, he appears to have been grieved to observe that his friends, in pleading its cause, had alluded to his exertions in terms which he conceived to be derogatory to the glory of the Saviour, whom he desired to serve. The appellation of INDIAN EVANGELIST, which Mr Winslow had applied to him, he declared to be a "redundancy," and protested against its use with the greatest vehemency. "I do beseech you," he writes, "to suppress all such things if ever you should have occasion of doing the like. Let us speak, and do, and carry all things with all humility. It is the Lord who hath done what is done, and it is most becoming of Jesus Christ to

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<sup>a</sup> Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 269, 270. Whitfield's Light appearing, p. 16.

lift up Christ, and (let) ourselves lie low. I wish that word could be obliterated, if any of the copies remain."<sup>n</sup> What might not be expected, if the principles here recognized were generally felt and acted on, by those who are engaged in propagating the gospel,—by those who direct the affairs of our Missionary Societies,—and by those who urge the claims of the heathen before the Christian public? Alas! it has now become customary with many to speak of making "sacrifices" for the cause of Christ,—to boast of the "wisdom" of the plans which are in operation for the extension of the truth,—and to consider the success vouchsafed by God, as a testimony to the merit of "zeal and liberality." The command of the Saviour, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature;" the appalling cry, "Come over and help us;" and the divine declaration, "Ye are not your own," are liable to be forgotten amidst the unhallowed congratulations in which the Christian public too frequently indulge.

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<sup>n</sup> Whitfield's Light Appearing, p. 18.

## CHAPTER V.

**Eliot petitions his friends in England for assist-  
supporting schools among the Indians—He re-  
translate the Scriptures into the Indian language  
submits a proposal to his friends about sendi-  
chanics to America—Extract from one of his  
relative to his success in teaching the Indians—  
trations of the views with which he contempla-  
establishment of civil and ecclesiastical order  
the Indians—Letter relative to his success in  
ing to the Indians, and his efforts in leading t  
build a town at a distance from the English  
Rev. S. Danforth appointed his colleague a  
bury.**

**ENCOURAGED** by the institution of the S  
for the Propagation of the Gospel in New-En  
Mr Eliot exerted himself to the utmost  
power to promote the improvement of the I  
to whom he had access, and embraced an ear-  
portunity of communicating his views on thi  
ject, to the individuals from whom he could lo-  
pecuniary assistance. Necessity alone com-  
him to take this step. “I have not means

own," he said, " I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my ministry in our church, whereby my family is sustained, to attend the Indians, to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing."

The education of the youth appears to have been an object to which his attention was particularly directed. " Let me, I beseech you," he writes, " trouble you with some considerations about this great Indian work, which lieth upon me as my continual care, prayer, desire, and endeavour to carry on ; namely, for their schooling, and education of youth in learning, which is a principal means of promoting it for future times. We must have special care to have schools for the instruction of the youth in reading. Moreover, there be sundry prompt, pregnant-witted youths, not vitiously inclined, but well-disposed, whom I desire may be wholly sequestered to learning."<sup>a</sup>

He seems to have been no less anxious to translate the Scriptures into the Indian language. When he proposed to engage in this work of immense labour and difficulty, his mind was deeply impressed with its importance and responsibility,

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<sup>a</sup> Whitfield's *Light Appearing*, p. 17.

and with the necessity of using all the means in his power for securing fidelity. "I must have some Indians," he remarked, "and it may be other help, continually about me, to try and examine translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence."<sup>b</sup>

Desirous of instructing the Indians in the arts of civilized life, he also submitted to his friends a proposal about sending mechanics from England, who might act under his direction. Aware, however, of the disastrous consequences which might ensue to his work, from his people holding intercourse with persons who were strangers to the power of Christianity, he anxiously demanded, that, if his request should be complied with, the individuals who should cross the Atlantic, "might be godly, well-conditioned, honest, meek, and well-spirited."<sup>c</sup>

When Mr Eliot submitted these proposals to his friends, he furnished them with an account of the progress of the gospel, and of his expectation of its future success. The following extract from one of his letters, which refers to these subjects, possesses considerable interest:—

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<sup>b</sup> Whitfield's Light Appearing, p. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Whitfield's Light Appearing, p. 25.

“ Now seeing it is so great a comfort to you to hear how the Lord is pleased to carry on this work, I shall relate unto you some passages whereby you may see in what frame the Indians are. I had, and still have a great desire to go to a great fishing-place, Nansacke upon Merrimack; and because the Indians way lieth beyond the great river, which we cannot pass with our horses, nor can we well go to it on this side the river, unless we go by Nashaway, which is about and a bad way unbeaten, the Indians not using that way,—I therefore desired a hardy man of Nashaway to beat out a way, so that he may pilot me thither in the spring; and he hired Indians with him and did it. In the way he passed through a great people called Sowabegen Indians, some of whom had heard me at Pantucket and at Nashaway, and had carried home such tidings, that they were generally stirred with a desire that I should come and teach them. When they saw a man come out to cut a way for me that way, they were very glad; and when he told them I intended to come that way next spring, they seemed to him full of joy, and made him very welcome. In the spring, when I should have gone, I was not well; yet when I went to Pantucket, another fishing-quarter, where from all quarters they met to-

gether, thither came divers of these Sowahegen Indians, and heard me teach, and I had conference with them. Among other things, I asked whether Sowahegen Indians were desirous to pray to God? They answered, Yea. I asked how many desired it. They answered, *Wahu*, that is All, and with such affection as did much affect those Christian men that I had with me in company.

“ The chief Sachem of this place, Pantucket, and of all Merrimack, Pappassaconnoway, who gave up himself and his sons to pray to God, did this year shew great affection to me and the word of God. He did exceedingly earnestly invite me to come and live there, and teach them. He used many arguments, many whereof I have forgotten; but this was one:—‘ Your coming hither but once in a year does them but little good, because they soon forget. I have many men who will not believe me that praying to God is so good; but if you would come and teach them, I hope they will believe you. You do, as if one should come and throw a fine thing among them, and they earnestly catch at it, and like it well, because it looks finely, but they cannot look into it to see what is within it; but if it be opened, then they will believe it. If you would come unto us, and open it to us, and shew us what it is within, then we should

believe that it is so excellent as you say.' Such elegant arguments as these did he use, with much gravity, wisdom, and affection; and truly, my heart much yearneth towards them, and I have a great desire to make our Indian town that way; yet the Lord, by the eye of providence, seemeth not to look thither, partly because there is not a place of due encouragement, which would spoil the work,—and partly because our Indians, which are our first and chief materials in present view, are loth to go northward, though they say they will go with me any whither. It concerneth me much not to lead them into any temptation of scarcity, cold, and want, which may damp the progress of the gospel.—

“ Another Indian, who lived remote another way, asked me if I had any children. I answered Yes. He asked how many. I said Six. He asked how many of them were sons. I told him Five. Then he asked whether my sons should teach the Indians to know God as I do: at which question I was much moved in my heart; for I have often in my prayers dedicated all my sons unto the Lord to serve him in this service, if he will please to accept them therein. My purpose is, to do my uttermost to train them up in learning, whereby they may be fitted in the best manner I can to serve



the Lord herein; and better preferment I desire not for them, than to serve the Lord in this travel. To this purpose I answered them; and my answer seemed to be well-pleasing to them, which seemed to minister to my heart some encouragement, that the Lord's meaning was to improve them that way, and that he would prepare their hearts to accept the same.

“Some strange Indians came to see them, who prayed to God, as one from Martha's Vineyard. When those strangers came, and they perceived them to affect religion, and had mutual conference about the same, there was very great gladness of heart among them, and they made these strangers exceedingly welcome. Hereupon did the question arise, namely, What is the reason, that, when a strange Indian comes in among us, whom we never saw before, yet, if he pray unto God, we do exceedingly love him? But if our own brother, dwelling a great way off, come unto us, he not praying to God, though we love him, yet nothing so as we love that other stranger who doth pray unto God.

“This question did so clearly demonstrate that which the Scripture calls, ‘love of the brethren,’ that I thought it was useful to try others of them, whether they found the same in their hearts. They

swered that they all found it so in their hearts ; and that it had been a matter of discourse among themselves, which was no small comfort and encouragement unto my spirit. I asked them what would be the reason that the godly people in England, 3000 miles off, who never saw them, yet hearing that they pray to God, do exceedingly rejoice at it, and send them tokens of their love. They shewed to them the unity of spirit."<sup>4</sup>

Mr Eliot's desires for the erection of a town for the Indians, in a situation remote from the English, have been more than once alluded to in the extracts from his letters which have been already brought forward. Anxious as he was, however, to see the individuals whom he instructed placed in comfortable circumstances, with regard to their temporal and spiritual concerns, he was careful to mark the dealings of God's providence, and to direct his operations according to the encouragement which might be afforded to him, by reflecting on the circumstances in which he was placed. Alike removed from unhallowed presumption, and ungrateful distrust in the divine faithfulness, he was neither inclined to forward his plans without divine direction, nor to abandon

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<sup>4</sup> Whitfield's *Light Appearing*, p. 19—21.

them in despondency, when circumstances prevented him from carrying them into immediate execution. When he considered that the way was plain before him, he suffered no obstacle to oppose his progress ; but when he entertained doubts respecting the line of conduct which he ought to pursue, he looked to his Father in heaven for counsel, and patiently waited for an answer to his prayers. "The Indians continue constant," he writes in a letter dated the 29th of the 10th month, 1649, "and earnestly desire to set upon the way of cohabitation, and prepare for their enjoyment of that great blessing,—to gather a church of Christ among them. Since the writing of my last, a Nipmuck Sachem hath submitted himself to pray unto the Lord, and much desireth one of our chief ones to live with him, and teach him and those that are with him. You wrote much, encouraging to lose no time, and follow the work; but I durst not do so. The work is great, as I informed you in my former letters, and I fear lest it should discourage you. I would neither be too hasty to run, before the Lord do clearly (by Scripture rules) say Go ; nor, on the other hand, would I hold them too long in suspense. There may be weakness that way to their discouragement ; but it is the Lord's work, and he is infinite in wis-

dom, and he will suit the work in such a time and place as shall best attain his appointed ends and great glory.”\*

In the commencement of the year 1650, he writes in a similar strain. “The work of the Lord, through his grace, doth still go on as formerly. They are full of questions, and anxious to know the meaning of such Scriptures as I have translated and read, and in a poor manner expounded to them. They long to proceed in that work which I have in former letters mentioned; namely, to cohabit in a town,—to be under the government of the Lord,—and to have a church, and the ordinances of Christ among them. The reason why there is still a delay of laying the foundation of the work is this, because we must see whether any supply is like to be had from England, for our sins, and bad times, may disappoint our greatest hopes; and if any, what measure, that we may be guided what foundation and beginning to make. To begin the work before the Lord hath discovered his providing providence this way, by the rule of prudence may not be; only I do, through the Lord’s help, continually go on to teach them,—as for these three years and a

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\* Whitfield’s Light Appearing, p. 28.

half I have done, instructing them,—and preparing them as well as I can against such a time as the Lord, who hath promised to guide us by his eye and voice, shall manifestly call us to go forward to that work which we wait to see accomplished.”<sup>f</sup>

Such were the views and feelings with which Mr Eliot contemplated the measures which he ought to pursue, in reference to the erection of a town for the Indians; and from one of his letters dated 21st October, 1650, it will appear, that while he was encouraged by the success which he continued to experience, his whole conduct was regulated by them.

“ *Much respected and beloved in our Lord Jesus,*

“ God is greatly to be adored in all his providences, and hath, evermore, wise and holy ends to accomplish, which we are not aware of; and therefore, although he may seem to cross our ends with disappointments, after all our pains and expectations, yet he hath farther and better thought than we can reach unto, which will cause us to admire his love and wisdom, when we see them accomplished. He is gracious to accept of our

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<sup>f</sup> Whitfield's Light appearing, p. 31.

sincere labours for his name, though he disappoint them in our way, and frustrate our expectations in our time ; yea, he will fulfil our expectations in his way, and in his time, which shall finally appear, to the eye of faith, a better way than ours, and a fitter time than ours :—his wisdom is infinite.

“ The Lord still smileth on his work among the Indians. Through his help that strengtheneth me, I cease not, in my poor measure, to instruct them ; and I do see that they profit and grow in knowledge of the truth, and some of them in the love of it, which appeareth by a ready obedience to it. To testify their growth in knowledge I will not trouble you with their questions, but I will only relate one story which fell out about the beginning of this year. Two of my hearers travelled to Providence and Warwick, where Gorton\* liveth ; and there they spent a Sabbath, and heard his people in some exercises, and had much conference with them. Perceiving that they had some knowledge in religion, and were of my

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\* “ Samuel Gorton, who, by one of the best pens, is described as a *most prodigious Minter of Exorbitant Novelties, and the very dregs of FAMILIAR.*”—*Mather, b. vii. p. 11.*

hearers, they endeavoured to possess their minds with their opinions. When they came home, the next lecture day, before I began the exercise, one of them asked me, 'What is the reason, that seeing those English people, where I have been, had the same Bible that we have, yet do not speak the same things?' I asked the reason of this question. He said, 'Because my brother and I have been at Providence, and at Warwick, and we perceived by speech with them, that they differ from us.' I asked him in what points; and so much as his brother and he could call to mind, he related as followeth:

" 'First, They said thus, they teach you that there is a heaven and a hell; but there is no such matter.' I asked him what reason they gave: he answered,—'He (Gorton) said that there is no other heaven than what is in the hearts of good men, nor no other hell than what is in the hearts of bad men.' Then I asked, and what said you to that? Saith he, 'I told them I did not believe them,—because heaven is a place whither good men go after this life is ended, and hell is a place whither bad men go when they die, and cannot be in the hearts of men.' I approved of this answer. I asked what else they spake: he answered, 'They spake of baptism, and said, that you are taught

that infants must be baptized, but that is a very foolish thing.' I asked him what reason they gave: he said, ' Because infants neither know God nor baptism, nor what to do, and therefore it is a foolish thing to do it.' I asked him what he said to that: he said, ' I could not say much, but I thought it was better to baptize them while young, and then they are bound and engaged; but if you let them alone till they be grown up, it may be they will fly off, and neither care for God nor for baptism.' I approved of this also, and asked what else they spake of. He said further, ' They spake of ministers, and said, they teach you that you must have ministers, but that is a needless thing.' I asked what reason they gave. He said, ' They gave these reasons: *1st*, Ministers know nothing but what they learn out of God's book, and we have God's book as well as they, and can tell what God saith. *2nd*, Ministers cannot change men's hearts, God must do that, and therefore there is no need of ministers.' I asked him what he said to that. He said, ' I told them that we must do as God commands us; and if he commands to have ministers we must have them. And further, I told them I thought it was true that minister's cannot change men's hearts,—but when we do as God bids us, and hear ministers preach, then God



will change our hearts.' I approved this answer also. I asked what else they spake. He said, 'They teach you that you must have magistrates, but that is needless, nor ought to be.' I asked what reason they gave. He said, 'They gave this reason,—magistrates cannot give life, therefore they may not take away life: when a man sinneth, he doth not sin against magistrates, and therefore why should they punish them; but he sins against God, and therefore we must leave them to God to punish them.' I asked him what he said to that: he answered, 'I said to that, as to the former, we must do as God commands us.'—

"By such time as we had done this conference, the company was gathered together, and we went to prayer; and I did solemnly bless God who had given them so much understanding in his truth, and some ability to discern between truth and error, and an heart to stand for the truth, and against error; and I cannot but take it as a divine testimony of God's blessing upon my poor labours. I afterwards gave the person with whom I conversed, an answer to his first question, viz. Why they (Gorton and his friends) having the same Bible with us, yet spake not the same things. And I answered him by that text, 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11, 'Because they received not the love of the

truth, that they might be saved ; and for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.' This text I opened unto them.—

“ The present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them together from their scattered kind of life ; first into civil society, then to ecclesiastical. In the spring that is past, they were very desirous to have been upon that work, and to have planted corn in the place intended ; but I did dissuade them, because I hoped for tools and means from England, whereby to prosecute the work this summer. When ships came, and no supply, you may easily think what a damping it was ; and truly my heart smote me, that I had looked too much at man and means, in stopping their earnest affections from that bar which proved a blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to him whose work it is. When I had thus looked up to the Lord, I advised with our elders, and some other of our church, whose hearts consented with me. Then I advised with divers of the elders at Boston lecture, and Mr Cotton's answer was, ‘ My heart saith, go on, and look to the Lord only for help :’ the rest also concurred. So I commended it to

our church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer. \* and have been ever since a-doing according to our abilities. This I account a favour of God, that on that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a ship from England, whereby I received letters

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\* Great as is the "zeal" for the propagation of the gospel which is displayed in the present day, a proposal for Christians to engage in the exercise of fasting, in behalf of any missionary undertaking, would probably excite the assent of thousands who contribute their silver and gold without reluctance, and who can talk and write about dependence on the divine blessing, and the manner in which it ought to be sought, with the utmost fluency. The fact is, that with many professing Christians there is even some reluctance to engage in supplication for the spread of the gospel. Missionary prayer meetings, indeed, have been established in many of our large cities, but the attendance at them is extremely partial,—a circumstance, which, to the minds of the missionaries alive to the moral difficulties of their office ought to be more appalling than the prospect of spending their days in a sickly climate, and among a people of a strange countenance, and of a strange tongue. "I am helpful in prayer to our work," said Mr Eliot to Mr Henry Whitfield, "and above all your gatherings, gather prayers: I mean, put the saints in mind that they pray much about it." Let him, though dead, yet speak.

and some encouragement in the work from private friends,—a mercy which God had in store, but unknown to some, and so contrived by the Lord that I should receive it as fruit of prayer.

“ The place also is of God’s providing, as a fruit of prayer ; for when I, with some that went with me, had rode to a place of some hopeful expectation, it was in no wise suitable. I went behind a rock, and looked to the Lord, and committed the matter to him ; and while I was travelling in woods, Christian friends were in prayer at home ; and so it was, that though one of our company fell sick in the woods, and we were forced home with speed, yet, in the way home, the Indians in our company, upon inquiry describing a place to me, and guiding us over some part of it, the Lord did both by his providence then, and afterwards, by more diligent search of the place, discover that there it was his pleasure we should begin the work. When grass was fit to be cut, I sent some Indians to mow, and others to make some hay at the place. This work was performed well, as I found when I went up with my man to order it. We must also of necessity have an house in which to lodge, meet, and lay up our provisions and clothes ; I set them therefore to fell and square timber for a house ; when

I was much surprised, and many of them with me, and on their departure carried all the labour together to. These things they cheerfully did, and I pay them wages seasonably for all their work, I set them about which is a great encouragement to labour. I propose God willing to call them together this autumn to break and prepare their own ground against the spring, not for their necessary work, which are not a few in such an enterprise. There is a great river which divideth between their planting ground and dwelling-places, through which, though they easily wade in summer, yet in the spring it is deep, and unfit for daily passing over, especially by women and children. Therefore I thought it necessary that this autumn we should make a foot-bridge over, against such time in the spring as we shall have daily use of it. I told them my purpose and reason of it,—wished them to go with me to do that work, which they cheerfully did: with their own hands did they build a bridge eighty foot long, and nine foot high in the midst, that it might stand above the floods. When we had done, I called them together, prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion of Scripture. At parting, I told them I was glad of their readiness to labour, when I advised them thereunto; and inasmuch as it

hath been hard and tedious labour in the water, that if any of them desired wages for the work, I would give them ; yet (being as it is for their own use) if they should do all this labour in love, I should take it well, and, as I may have occasion, remember it. They answered me they were far from desiring wages when they do their own work, but, on the other side, they were thankful to me that I had called them in a work so needful for them ; whereto I replied, I was glad to see them so ingenuous.

“ It cannot but appear there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares ; and if, upon some competent time of experience, we shall find them to grow in knowledge of the principles of religion, and to love the ways of the Lord the better, according as they come to understand them,—and to yield obedience to them, and submit to this great change, to bridle lust by laws of chastity, and to mortify idleness by labour,—and desire to train up their children accordingly ; I say, if we shall see these things in some measure in them, what should hinder charity from hoping that there is grace in their hearts,—a spark kindled by the word and spirit of God, which shall never be quenched ; and were these in a fixt cohabitation, who could

gainsay their gathering together into a holy church covenant and election of officers; and who can forbid them be baptized? And I am persuaded there be sundry such among them, whom the Lord will vouchsafe so far to favour, and to shine upon, that they may become a church and a spouse of Jesus Christ.

“ The blessing of God upon this work doth comfortably, hopefully, and successfully, appear in the labours of my brother Mayhew, in Martha's vineyard, insomuch that I hope they will be, after a while, ripe for this work of civility and cohabitation, if once they see a successful pattern of it. I doubt not but they will ere long desire church-fellowship, and the ordinances of God's worship. The cloud increaseth, and the Lord seemeth to be coming in among them. They are very desirous to have their children taught, which is one argument that they truly love the knowledge of God. I have intreated a woman, living near where they dwell, to do that office for their children, and I pay her for it; but when they go to their plantation we shall be in a strait for help that way. The Indians so well like the persons who perform that service for them, that they entreat them to go with them, which I look at as a finger of God. If the Lord please to prosper our

poor beginnings, my purpose is, so far as the Lord shall enable me to give attendance to the work, to have school exercises for all the men, by daily instructing of them to read and write, &c. Yea, if the Lord afford us fit instruments, my desire is that all the women may be taught to read. I know the matter will be difficult every way, for English people can only teach them to read English,—and for their own language we have no book. My desire, therefore, is to teach them all to write, and read written hand, and thereby, with pains taking, they may have some of the Scriptures in their own language. I have one already who can write, so that I can read his writing well, and he can read mine. I hope the Lord will both enlarge his understanding, and enable others to do as he doth. If once I had some of themselves able to write and read, it might further the work exceedingly, and will be the speediest way.

“The Lord of heaven bless and assist you in all your ways, and I beg your prayers for me still, and so rest,—Yours in our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.”<sup>s</sup>

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<sup>s</sup> Whitfield's Light Appearing, p. 33—44.



The preceding letter bears ample testimony to Mr Eliot's zeal, diligence, and judiciousness, in the work of instructing the Indians; but it also shews that he must have been unable, when it was written, to give that attention to the spiritual interests of the English people of Roxbury which their circumstances required. Interested, however, as he was in their welfare, he could not suffer them to be treated with neglect. When he first entered on his missionary labours, his pulpit was supplied in his absence by his brethren in the ministry who approved of his plans; but, supposing that it had now become necessary to procure a more stated assistance, he adopted measures, in 1650, for the appointment, as his colleague, of the Rev. Samuel Danforth. This young man, having been deprived of his father before he completed his twelfth year, was instructed under the care of the pious Thomas Shepard, and gave satisfactory proofs of piety and talent. His education was finished at Harvard College, where he highly distinguished himself among his fellow-students. He was welcomed to Roxbury with the kindest affection; and it was found that the confidence which was reposed in him was not misplaced. He laboured, with great disinterested-

and diligence, during the period of twenty-two years, and afforded high satisfaction to Mr Eliot, who viewed him as eminently qualified to supply his lack of service.<sup>h</sup>

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<sup>h</sup> Mather, b. iii, p. 191. b. iv. p. 154.

## CHAPTER VI.

Opposition to the corporation for Propagating the  
 in New-England—Extract from one of Eliot's  
 relating his success in the conversion of the I  
 and their progress in erecting a town remote fr  
 English—Natick finished—Eliot establishes civ  
 among the English—Natick visited by the G  
 of Massachusetts—Eliot adopts measures for  
 mation of a Christian church, and writes do  
 confessions of the Indians—Account of a "g  
 ssembly" at Natick—The New-England minister  
 to form a church among the Indians—Mr Eliot  
 ings on this subject, and Dr I. Mather's opinio  
 the Indians—Account of the death of two  
 children—Eliot prosecutes his labours, and ap  
 the General Court in behalf of the Indians—  
 of settlements to the Indians—Daniel Gool  
 pointed ruler of the praying Indians—Difficu  
 lative to the settlement of the Indians at Punl  
 Exhortations of two Indians—Church formed  
 tick.

WE have already been made acquainted wi  
 Eliot's intention to establish a settled form  
 vernment among the Indians,—to institute s  
 for their education,—and to form those wl

ered to be truly converted into a Christian church. We have also seen the hope which he entertained of being able to carry his plans into fact, and of receiving such pecuniary assistance in England as was necessary in the circumstances in which he was placed.

The corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New-England afforded him all the encouragement which they were warranted to do, on consideration of the money which they had saved, and the prospect of an accession to their ranks which they could reasonably entertain. Some benevolent individuals, however, who composed this body, though supported by the instance of Parliament, and several of the most eminent individuals of the day, had to struggle with much opposition. Their motives and their proceedings were misrepresented; and they were assailed by a multitude of objections, from many whom they entertained the most charitable opinion. Amidst all the difficulties, however, which they had to contend, they acted with greatest prudence. They contributed "their purse and their pains freely to the work, without least diminution of the stock;" and adopted the kindest means of rebutting the accusations which had been brought against them. Having

done nothing wrong, they had nothing to conceal; and, with the view of satisfying the public that the charitable donations entrusted to them were not misapplied, they invited a weekly inspection of their books, which contained "an account of their receipts, disbursements, and manner of proceeding." Acting in this manner, and conscious of the goodness of their cause, they trusted that God would advance its interests; and they found accordingly that he stirred up the hearts of some eminent Christians to contribute in a very liberal manner to its support, and "to charge their lands with a yearly revenue to the corporation."<sup>a</sup>

Mr Eliot, having been informed of these circumstances, proceeded in the execution of his plans; and, in a letter addressed to a member of the corporation, and dated 28th February, 1651, he gave a pleasing view of the progress which he had made, and of the improvements which, by the divine blessing, were gradually taking place in the moral condition of the Indians.

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<sup>a</sup> Address to the Christian Reader, *apud* Strength out of Weakness; or, a Glorious Manifestation of the further progress of the gospel among the Indians, London 1652, and p. 40.

“ In matters of religion,” he says, “ they go on, not only in knowledge, but also in the practice and power of grace.—I have seen lively actings of charity out of reverence to the command of the Lord. We offered twelve-pence a night to any who would tend an old destitute paralytic man ; and for mere hire none would abide it :—out of mere charity, however, some of the families did take care of him.—The old man doth wisely testify that their love is sincere, and that they truly pray to God. I could, with a word spoken in our churches, have this poor man relieved ; but I do not, because I think the Lord hath afflicted him for the trial of their grace, and exercise of their love.—

“ One of our principal men, *Wamporas*, is dead. He made so gracious an end of his life, embraced death with such holy submission to the Lord, and was so little terrified at it, as that he hath greatly strengthened the faith of the living. I think he did more good by his death than he could have done by his life. One of his sayings was, ‘ God giveth us three mercies in the world ; the first is health and strength,—the second is food and clothes,—the third is sickness and death ; and when we have had our share in the two first, why should we not be willing to take our part in

the third?' His last words were *Jehovah Anni-mamah Jesus Christ*; that is, 'O Lord, give me Jesus Christ.' When he could speak no more, he continued to lift up his hands to heaven, according as his strength lasted, unto his last breath. When I visited him the last time I saw him in this world, one of his sayings was this: 'Four years and a quarter since, I came to your house, and brought some of my children to dwell with the English; now when I die, I strongly entreat you, that you would strongly entreat Elder Heath, and the rest who have our children, that they may be taught to know God, so that they may teach their countrymen.' His heart was much upon our intended work, to gather a church among them. I told him that I greatly desired he might live, if it were God's will, to be one in that work; but that if he should now die, he should go to a better church, where Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and all the dead saints were with Jesus Christ, in the presence of God, in all happiness and glory. Turning to the company who were present, he spake unto them thus:—'I now shall die, but Jesus Christ calleth you that live to go to Natick, that there the Lord might rule over you,—that you might make a church, and have the ordinances of God among you,—believe his word, and do as he

commandeth you.' His gracious words were acceptable and affecting. The Indians flocked together to hear them. They beheld his death with many tears; nor am I able to write his story without weeping.—

“ It hath pleased God to take away that Indian who was most active in carpentry, and who had framed me a house, with the direction of some English, whom I sometimes procured to go with me to guide him, and to set out his work; so that our house lieth not yet raised, which maketh my abode amongst them more difficult, and my tarrance shorter than else I would; but the Lord helpeth me to remember that he hath said, ‘ Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.’ It hath pleased God this winter much to enlarge the ability of him whose help I use in translating the Scriptures; besides, it hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter, to learn to read and write,—wherein they do very much profit, with a little help, for they are very ingenious. And whereas I had thoughts that we must have an Englishman to be their schoolmaster, I now hope that the Lord will raise up some of themselves, and fit them for that work. I trust in the Lord that we shall have sundry of them able to read and write, who shall write every man

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for himself, so much of the Bible as the Lord shall please to enable me to translate. Besides these works which concern religion and learning, we are also a-doing, according to the measure of our day of small things in the civil part of this work. We have set out some part of the town in several streets,—measuring out and dividing of lots, which I set them to do, and teach them how to do. Many have planted apple trees, and they have begun divers orchards. Last week I appointed our lecture to be at a water, which is a common passage. There we built a bridge, and made a wire to catch fish. We have also begun a palisado fort, in the midst whereof we intend to have a meeting-house and a school-house.”<sup>b</sup>

Mr Eliot, having begun thus vigorously to execute his plans for the settlement of the Indians, suffered not his zeal to wax cold. By unremitting attention to his “work,” he soon qualified two individuals for instructing their countrymen; and in order to assist them in the discharge of their duties, he composed a catechism, which they carefully taught to their scholars. He also required that the children placed under their care, should transcribe such parts of the Bible as he had trans-

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<sup>b</sup> Strength out of Weaknesse, p. 1—5.

lated. He hoped in this way to fix divine truth in the minds of the young, and to lead them to profit by a knowledge of the word of God, which, at this time, he did not expect to be able to present to them in a printed form. On the Sabbath, he encouraged some of the most judicious converts to engage in prayer, in the presence of their brethren, and to address a word of exhortation. He adopted this method of preparing them for extended usefulness, when they might be called to explain the principles of Christianity to those who were still strangers to the glad tidings of salvation.<sup>c</sup>

He was no less zealous in prosecuting the work of building the town, where the Indians intended to settle; and in a short time he had the pleasure of seeing it completed. The village consisted of "three fair streets;" two of which stretched along the Boston side of Charles River, and one along the other. The houses, some of which were built in the English style, shewed that the workmen exercised considerable ingenuity in their construction. One of them was large and commodious, and its lower room was used as a place of worship on the Sabbath, and as a school-house

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<sup>c</sup> Strength out of Weakness, p. 6—8.

during the week ; while its upper apartments were used for the accommodation of Mr Eliot, and as a wardrobe in which the Indians deposited their skins and other articles which they considered valuable. The fort was also at this time finished. It was of a circular form, and palisaded with trees ; and covered about a quarter of an acre of ground.<sup>d</sup>

The converted Indians, since the year 1647, when the General Court of Massachusetts had passed an act, with the view of establishing the forms of justice among them, had applied in difficult cases to the courts of the English for the determination of their civil controversies. Many inconveniences, however, were experienced in consequence of the arrangements which were made on this subject. It was not to be expected that persons ignorant of the Indian language, as the English judges must have been, could manifest that patience of investigation which is necessary for the attainment of the great objects of law ; and that the administration of justice should not be frequently defeated through the mistakes of interpreters. Aware of these evils, and convinced that a pious magistracy would be a great means

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<sup>d</sup> Strength out of Weaknesse, p. 17.

of encouraging the propagation of the gospel, Mr Eliot had no sooner seen the completion of the town of Natick, than, with the concurrence of the General Court, he resolved to establish a more independent form of government among his children in the faith.

When he contemplated the establishment of civil order among the Indians, he was convinced of the great importance of managing this affair in a regular and decent manner. When he considered that his proceedings would in all probability be imitated by the Indians in other parts of the country, he was most desirous of setting a good example, which might be followed with advantage. "Great care," he said, "lieth on me to set them right at first, to lay a sure foundation for such a building as I foresee will be built upon it."\* It is impossible rightly to appreciate his caution on this subject; for the evil consequences of rash conduct, in the circumstances in which he was placed, could not soon be remedied.

On the 10th June, 1651, he collected the Indians from all quarters, with the view of carrying his plans into effect; and being of opinion that the advice which Jethro gave to Moses, about the

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\* Strength out of Weakness, p. 8, 9.

The forenoon was spent in these exercises ; and, after a short relaxation, the rulers proceeded to pray and discourse in a similar manner during the afternoon. When night approached, Mr Eliot preached from Deut. xxix. 1—16, and repeated the following covenant, into which both rulers and people unanimously and solemnly entered :—

“ We are the sons of Adam. We, and our forefathers, have a long time been lost in our sins, but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again. Therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children unto God to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs, not only in our religion, and affairs of the church ; (these we desire as soon as we can, if God will,) but also in all our works and affairs in this world, God shall rule over us. The Lord is our Judge,—the Lord is our Law-giver,—the Lord is our King ; He will save us. The wisdom which God hath taught in his book, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. Oh ! Jehovah, teach us wisdom to find out thy wisdom in thy Scriptures. Let the grace of Christ help us, because Christ is the wisdom of God. Send thy Spirit into our hearts, and let it teach us. Lord take

be thy people, and let us take thee to be God."s

he Indians having thus formed a civil and re-  
 us community, the Hon. John Endicott, go-  
 or of Massachusetts, resolved to inquire into  
 situation and prospects. Accompanied by  
 s of his friends, he went to Natick to inspect  
 r town, and observe their conduct. He met with  
 ral of the ministers on the occasion of his visit,  
 were equally interested with himself in the suc-  
 of the work of evangelizing the poor heathen.  
 was particularly delighted to observe the man-  
 in which the converts conducted their spiri-  
 exercises. A middle-aged man commenced  
 services by devoutly and reverently engaging  
 rayer, and by addressing his brethren, for three  
 ters of an hour, from the parables of the trea-  
 hid in the field, and the wise merchant sell-  
 all his possessions for the pearl of great price.  
 discoursing on these subjects, he, as well as his  
 tors, appeared to be deeply affected with the  
 s which he stated. Mr Endicott considered  
 gravity and utterance as very commendable,  
 requested Mr Eliot to furnish him with the

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s Strength out of Weakness, p. 9—12.

substance of his exhortations.\* This Indian having concluded with prayer in the manner in which he began, Mr Eliot preached for an hour, about coming to Christ and bearing his yoke. When he had finished, the schoolmaster read one of the psalms in metre, in the Indian language, which was sung with great cheerfulness and melody. The appearance of every thing which Mr Endicott saw at the Indian town, deeply affected his mind with gratitude to the giver of every good and perfect gift; and he was so highly pleased with the scenes which he witnessed, that, though Natick was forty miles distant from the place of his residence, he considered the journey which he took thither as the best which he had for many years. He said that he "could hardly refrain from tears for very joy, to see the diligent attention of the Indians to the word of God."<sup>b</sup>

Mr Eliot, having thus settled the matters connected with the civil government of the Indians, immediately turned his attention to the formation of a Christian church among them. For the accomplishment of this object he continued to visit them weekly,—to catechize their children,—to

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\* Appendix (C).

<sup>b</sup> Strength out of Weaknesse, p. 13—18, 33—35.

preach to them on some doctrine of the Christian faith,—and to answer such questions as they might propose to him. On the Sabbaths, on which he attended them, and likewise on lecture days, he required them to confess their sins, and to declare their knowledge of Christ, and their experience of his grace. He wrote down the “confessions” which they made, and invited the ministers to assemble and hear them read, and to give him their advice regarding the propriety of forming a church.

Mr Eliot and his friends having spent a day in fasting and prayer for divine direction, resolved to meet on the 13th October, 1652, which the Indians called *Natootomahteachesuk*, or the day of asking questions, in order to judge of the fitness of the converts for Christian communion.<sup>1</sup> When they had met, Mr Eliot, and two of the converts engaged in prayer, and delivered discourses. The ministers were then requested to catechize the Indians about the doctrines of Christianity, with the view of being satisfied with the extent of their knowledge; but they expressed a desire to be made acquainted with their Christian

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<sup>1</sup> Neal's Hist. of New-England, vol. i. p. 236, 240. Mather, b. iii. p. 197.



experience, and hoped at the same time to ascertain the extent of their information. The confessions which had been written on former occasions were therefore read, and the Indians requested to come forward and express the feelings of their souls with regard to religion. "In doing this they were daunted much," said Mr Eliot, "to speak before so great and grave an assembly."<sup>1</sup>

When a considerable number of the Indians had stated their views of divine truth, and the feelings of their hearts, it was found that sufficient time did not remain for hearing the rest who were desirous of being admitted to the enjoyment of the privileges of a Christian church; and as there were no competent lodgings in which the ministers, and others who were present, could be accommodated, and as Natick was distant from the settlements of the English, and the nights were at this season both cold and long, it was proposed that the assembly should be dissolved. As a reason for doing this, it was also urged, that as Mr Mayhew, and Mr Leverich,\* who were ex-

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<sup>1</sup> Tears of Repentance; or, a further Narrative of the Progresse of the Gospel among the Indians; related by Mr Eliot and Mr Mayhew, two faithful laborers in that work of the Lord.—London, 1653, p. 2, 3.

\* The person alluded to in this place is the Rev.

pected to have been present as witnesses to the fidelity of Mr Eliot's translations of the confessions, had not been able to attend, the work could not proceed without a direct violation of the precept, "In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every thing be established," which was thought to be peculiarly applicable to their circumstances. Mr Eliot was therefore requested to inform the Indians, "That the magistrates, elders, and other Christian people present, did much rejoice to hear their confessions, and advised them to go on in that good way; but as for the gathering a church among them this day, it could not be."<sup>k</sup>

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William Leverich, who, after his removal from Britain, became pastor to an English Church at Sandwich, in the Colony of Plymouth. He met with many obstacles in his labours among his countrymen; and he consequently resolved to extend his benevolent exertions to the poor Indians, whom he deeply commiserated. He was encouraged in his views on this subject by several letters addressed to him by Mr Eliot; and having acquired the Indian language, he laboured with considerable success as an Evangelist. An extract from one of his letters, addressed to the Rev. J. Wilson of Boston, which forms the only memorial of his missionary labours which we have seen, is inserted in the Appendix (D).—*Strength out of Weakness*, p. 20. *Mather*, b. iii. p. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Eliot's Tears of Repentance, p. 24, 25.

The greatest caution should be exercised in the admission of heathen converts to the privilege of the Christian church; but it is to be regretted that, on this interesting occasion, more evidence was not manifested to the poor Indians that they had given the most satisfactory proofs of their acquaintance with the truths of Christianity, a change of heart, of their great anxiety to set forth the dying love of their divine Redeemer, and of their readiness to submit to Christian discipline. Mr Eliot transmitted their confessions to London for publication,\* and recorded the conviction of the Christian character of the converts who delivered them. "I see evident demonstrations," he observes, "that God's Spirit by his word hath taught them, because their confessions, both in prayer, and the confessions now published, are far more, and more inward and spiritual, and various, than ever I was able to express unto them, in that poor broken manner of teaching I have used among them. Their confessions doth bring their doctrines into their own experience, which they may observe in their confessions, doth also demonstrate the teaching of God's spirit, which

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\* The Confessions were published in 1653, under the title of "Tears of Repentance."

special work is application. Their different gifts, likewise, is a thing observable in their confessions. The Lord will make them a praying people; and indeed there is a great spirit of prayer poured out upon them, to my wonderment: and you may easily apprehend, that they who are assisted to express such confessions before men, are not without a good measure of enlargement of spirit before the Lord.”<sup>1</sup>

Of the justice of these remarks, the reader may form his own opinion, by referring to the interesting confessions which are inserted in the Appendix,\* as a testimony to the power of the gospel, in changing the heart of barbarians, and leading them to cherish the most exalted affections. In doing this, it will be proper to keep in mind the declaration of Mr Eliot, which he subjoined to them: “And because all witnesses failed me, let me say but this,—I began, and have followed this work for the Lord, according to the poor measure of grace received, and not for base ends. I have been true and faithful unto their souls,—and in writing and reading their confessions, I

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<sup>1</sup> Address to the Reader, *opud* Eliot's Tears of Repentance.

\* Appendix (E).

have not knowingly or willingly made them but than the Lord helped themselves to make it but am verily persuaded, on good grounds, that I have rather rendered them weaker (for the part) than they delivered them; partly by my some word of weight in some sentences, & partly by my short and curt touches of what they fully spake, and partly by reason of the idioms of their language and ours."<sup>m</sup>

We would naturally expect that Mr Eliot, had looked forward, with great anxiety, to the time when he should be able to put the message of Christ's dying love into the hands of his children in the faith, must have felt great disappointment from the result of the proceedings on that day of the "great assembly." His feelings, however, appear to have been totally removed to despondency. He exhibited, indeed, great submission to the will of God, and recorded his resolution to persevere with steadfastness in his duty. "As for myself," he remarked, "the Lord put into the hearts of the elders to speak unto me words of comfort, and acceptance of my penitence,—expressing their loving fear, lest I should be discouraged by this disappointment. I

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<sup>m</sup> Eliot's Tears of Repentance, p. 27.

heretofore nakedly declare, and open my heart in his matter. The Lord knoweth that with much fear, and care, I went about this work, even unto the sensible wasting and weakening of my natural strength, knowing that the investing these young babes in Christ, with the highest, and all the external privileges of the church, the spouse of Jesus Christ on earth, would have drawn on me much more labour and care, lest they should in any wise scandalize the same; unto which I have now more time assigned me by the Lord to prepare them, yea, and a greater advantage than I had before, because this dispensation of the Lord hath given me occasion to instruct them of their need to be filled with deeper apprehensions of the weight and solemnity of that great work, though it is most true, that they also come on to it with many fears and questions, what they should do when they should be a church. When therefore I saw the Lord by the counsel of his servants, which is an holy, reverend, ordinance of Christ,) and by his providence, denying me the help of all interpreters,—having many witnesses how much care and pains I knew to be supplied therein; and that the work itself was extended by the Lord's gracious enlarging them in their confessions, so that the day was not sufficient to accomplish it;

I say, when I saw the Lord speaking that dilatory word, I cannot express what a load it took off my heart, and I did gladly follow the Lord therein; yea, and I bless the Lord for that day, that it was carried so far as it was, for the cause of Christ hath many ways gained by it,—many hundreds of the precious saints being much comforted and confirmed in their hopes of this work of Christ among them, and their faith and prayers much quickened by what they heard and saw.”<sup>o</sup>

The last circumstance which Mr Eliot mentions in this quotation cannot well be accounted for, when we take into consideration the fact, that the members of the New-England Churches virtually refused to acknowledge the converted Indians as part of the body of Christ, by extending to them the hand of Christian fellowship. But while nothing is more surprising in the history of his mission, than the extreme caution of these pious individuals, we must admit that they acted from purity of motive, and that they greatly rejoiced in the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom among the heathen. On this subject, Dr Increase Mather, whose sentiments respecting the Indians were generally entertained by the ministers in

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<sup>o</sup> Eliot's Tears of Repentance, p. 25, 26.

the country, expressed himself in the terms of high approbation. "There is so much of God's work among them," said he, "as that I cannot but account it a great evil, yea, a great injury to God and his goodness, for any to make light of it. To see and hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes to heaven in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name Jehovah, in the mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the word of God; to see and hear them confessing the name of Christ and their own sinfulness,—sure this is more than usual! and though they spoke in a language of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in their gesture, and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us, that they spoke with the holy fear of God, and it much moved our hearts." <sup>p</sup>

These effects of the gospel on the minds of the Indians, as described by Dr. Mather, bear a power-

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<sup>p</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 198.



ful testimony to the grace of God ; but they appear in a still more striking point of view, we consider that the work of conversion was confined to the adults. The Spirit of God gently wrought a saving change on seven of their children. Two of these, below three of age, who died a short time before the assizes, seem to have enjoyed much comfort in the prison. The following account of their last moments is given by Mr Eliot :—“ The first of the children, in the extremities of its torment crying to God in these words, ‘ God and Jesus Christ, God and Jesus Christ help me ;’ and they gave it any thing to eat, it would not take it, (as is usual at the approach of death) first it would cry to God, ‘ O God and Jesus Christ bless it.’ In this manner it lay calling on God and Jesus Christ until it died.—The four days after, another child, in the same prison, called to its father, and said, ‘ Father, I am going to God ;’ several times repeating, ‘ I am going to God.’ The mother had made for the child a basket, a little spoon, and a little tray. These things the child was wont to be greatly delighted withal ; therefore, in the extremity of its torment they set those things before it, a little to divert the mind, and cheer the spirit : but now the

takes the basket, and puts it away, and said, ' I will leave my basket behind me, for I am going to God ; I will leave my spoon and tray behind me, (putting them away) for I am going to God : ' and, with this kind of expressions, the same night finished its course and died." †

While the confessions of the Indians were in a course of circulation among the New-England churches, Mr Eliot continued to prosecute his labours with unwearied zeal. He took Monequesun, an ingenious youth, into his house, and having taught him to read and write, made him schoolmaster at Natick. He ordered the catechism which he had composed in the Indian language to be printed in 1653, and placed some of the most promising children with English schoolmasters, to learn the English, Latin, and Greek languages. †

In 1654, he procured from the General Court of Massachusetts, several parcels of land for the use of such of the Indians as might afford any just hope of embracing the Christian religion ; in the

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† Eliot's Tears of Repentance, p. 45—47.

† Gookin, p. 172. Neal's Hist. of New-England, vol. i. p. 239. Thomas, vol. i. p. 254. Hutchinson, p. 472.

year following having applied to the same body for assistance in his work of civilizing them, he obtained the following deliverance: "Whereas one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true religion unto the Indians; and that divers of them are become subject to the English, and have engaged themselves to be willing and ready to understand the law of God: It is therefore ordered, that such necessary and wholesome laws which are in force, and made from time to time, to reduce them to civility of life, shall be once a year, if the times be safe, made known to them, by such fit persons as the General Court shall appoint: and for the better ordering and governing the Indians subject to us, especially those of Natick, Punkapog, &c. that whosoever the court shall appoint, do take care that all such Indians do live according to our laws, as far as they are capable; and to that end shall be authorized to constitute and appoint Indian commissioners in their several plantations, to hear and determine all such matters that do arise among themselves, as one magistrate may do amongst the English, with officers to execute all commands and warrants, as marshal and constables. And further, they jointly shall have the power of a county court, to hear and determine all causes arising among them; the English

magistrate appointing time and place of the court, and consenting to the determination of such judgment. And all other matters beyond their cognizance shall be issued and determined by the court of assistants."

The court appointed Major Daniel Gookin, a person of distinguished piety and prudence, as the principal ruler of the praying Indians. This gentleman on entering on his office, commanded them, agreeably to a proposal of Mr Eliot, to pay tithes of their increase, in order to support the schools at which their children were receiving instruction, and to afford encouragement to their preachers. He discharged the duties connected with his situation with great tenderness and prudence; and his laborious services, which were of the most disinterested nature, proved highly useful to Mr Eliot, who concurred with him in most of the plans which he adopted.\* \*

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\* Helms' American Annals, vol. i. p. 303. Gookin in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 177, 178, 228, 229.

\* Daniel Gookin, who, in 1644, from love to the pure ordinances of Christ, removed with his family from the county of Kent to America, was the author of the Historical Collections among the Indians in New-England, to which we are indebted for several of the facts which we have recorded. He was highly respected by

Major Atherton's name stood high, as during the course of his life, in the favour of the community. and though in the report of the military, he had an able colleague in the person of Major Cookin, it appears that the Indians were much molested in the neighbourhood. With the causes of the war it is not much to be lamented, we are not acquainted, but it appears from the account given of his death, that he was much honoured by the people. Major Atherton,\* at his death, was like a true friend, and was not deterred not to forsake his country in their calamity, but to assist them in their safety and in

Major Atherton's Indians are much interested in their proceedings, in way of

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\* Major Atherton, and exceedingly kind to the Indians. Some time before his death he was appointed Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts. See *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 228, 229.

\* Major Atherton was appointed Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts, during Major Cookin's absence in England. He continued in office for three years.—*Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.* vol. i. p. 177.

vility, yet the Lord hath put it into your hearts to suffer us to proceed quietly at Punkipog, for which I bless God, and am thankful to yourself and all the good people at Dorchester. And now that our proceedings may be the more comfortable and peaceable, my request is that you would please to further these two notions :—First, that you would please to make an order in your town, certify and record it in your town records, that you approve and allow the Indians in Punkipog, there to sit down and make a town, and to enjoy such accommodations as may be competent to maintain God's ordinances among them another day. My second request is that you would appoint fitting men, who may, in a fit season, bound and lay out the same, and record that also ; and thus commending you to the Lord, I rest,—Yours to serve in service of Jesus Christ,

“ JOHN ELIOT.”

*ROXBURY, this 4th }  
of the 4th, 57. }*

The result of this application was favourable to Mr Eliot's views, as appears from the following extract from the records of the town of Dorchester : “ Whereas there was a plantation given by the town of Dorchester unto the Indians at Punkipog, it was voted at a general town meeting,

the seventh of December, 1657, that the Indians shall not alienate or sell their plantation, or any part thereof, unto any English, upon the loss or forfeiture of the plantation.

"The same day it was voted, that the honoured Major Atherton, Lieut. Clap, Ensign Foster, and William Sumner, are desired and empowered to lay out the Indian plantation at Punkipog, not exceeding six thousand acres of land."<sup>t</sup>

The town at Punkipog having been thus founded, the Indians at this place, as well as at the other praying towns, utterly abandoned polygamy, and made strict laws against fornication, drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities.<sup>u</sup>

On the 15th November, 1658, the Indians kept a day of fasting and humiliation, on account of severe damages which they had received from excessive rains. At the meetings held on this occasion, several of them delivered exhortations, which were published in London in the following year. We shall insert two of them in this place, because, as mentioned by Dr Mather, they contain "much of Eliot," and form an important testimony to the preparation which they had made

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<sup>t</sup> Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. ii. p. 9.

<sup>u</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 197.

for the formation of a Christian church,—an event to which, with the greatest anxiety, they had now looked forward for several years.

*The Exhortation of Waban, from Matt. ix. 12, 13.*

“ When Jesus heard that, he said, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice ; for I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

“ I am a poor weak man, and know but little, and therefore I shall say but little.

“ These words are a similitude, that as some be sick, and some well ; and we see in experience, that when we be sick we need a physician, and go to him, and make use of his physic ; but they that be well do not so ; they need it not, and care not for it. So it is with soul-sickness,—and we are all sick of that sickness in our souls, but we know it not. We have many at this time sick in body, for which cause we do fast and pray this day, and cry to God,—but more are sick in their souls. We have a great many diseases and sicknesses in our souls, as idleness, neglect of the Sabbath, passion, &c. Therefore what should we do this day, but go to Christ, the physician, for Christ is the physician of souls ; he healed men’s



bodies, but he can heal souls also ; he is a great physician, therefore let all sinners go to him,—therefore this day know what need we have of Christ, and let us go to Christ, to heal us of our sins, and he can heal us both soul and body. Again, what is that lesson which Christ would have us learn, “ that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance ? ” What ! doth not God love them that be righteous ? Doth he not call them to him ? Doth not God love righteousness ? Is not God righteous ? *Ans.* The righteous here are not meant those that are truly righteous, but those that are hypocrites,—that seem righteous and are not,—that think themselves righteous but are not so indeed : such God calleth not, neither doth he care for them. But such as see their sins, and are sick of sin, them Christ calleth to repentance, and to believe in Christ : therefore let us see our need of Christ to heal all our diseases of soul and body.\*”

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\* Waban, it will be recollected, was the first convert under Mr Eliot’s ministry among the Indians. His speech will be found in the Appendix (F).

*The Exhortation of Nishokou, from Genesis,  
viii. 20, 21.*

“ And Noah built an Altar to Jehovah, and he took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelt a sweet savour, and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground,” &c.

“ A little I shall say, according to that little I know.

“ In that Noah sacrificed, he shewed himself thankful; in that Noah worshipped, he shewed himself godly. In that he offered clean beasts, he shewed that God is an holy God; and all that come to God must be pure and clean. Know that we must by repentance purge ourselves, which is the work we are to do this day. Noah sacrificed, and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what sacrifices have we now to offer? I shall answer by that in Psalm iv. 5. “ Offer to God the sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord.” These are the true spiritual sacrifices which God requires at our hands, the sacrifices of righteousness; that is, we must look to our hearts and ways that they be righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to God when we worship him; but if we be unright-

teous, unholy, ungodly, we shall not be accepted, our sacrifices will be stark naught.

“ Again, we are to put our trust in the Lord. Who else is there for us to trust in? We must believe in the word of God; if we doubt of God, or doubt of his word, our sacrifices are but little worth; but if we trust stedfastly in God, our sacrifices will be good.

“ Once more, What sacrifices must we offer? My answer is, we must offer such as Abraham offered; and what a sacrifice was that, we are told, Gen. xxii. 12. “ Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thy only son from me.” It seems he had but one dearly beloved son, and he offered that son to God, and so God said, ‘ I know thou fearest me; behold a sacrifice in deed and truth! Such an one must we offer, only God requires not us to offer our sons, but our sins, our dearest sins. God calls us this day to part with all our sins, though never so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him; if we will not part with *all*, the sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such sins as we love best, and it will be a good sacrifice.

“ God smelt a sweet savour in Noah’s sacrifice, and so will God receive our sacrifices, when we

worship him aright. But how did God manifest his acceptance of Noah's offering,—it was by promising to drown the world no more, but to give us fruitful seasons. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly drown us,—and he has drowned, and spoiled, and ruined a great deal of our hay, and threatens to kill our cattle. 'Tis for this that we fast and pray this day; let us then offer a clean and pure sacrifice as Noah did, so God will smell a savour of rest, and he will withhold the rain, and bless us with such fruitful seasons as we are desiring of him." v

In the year 1660, Mr Eliot, with the approbation of the New-England ministers, had the happiness of seeing a church formed at Natick. The individuals who composed it, having given themselves first to the Lord, and then to one another, in a holy covenant, were baptized, and admitted to the Lord's Supper. Of their number we have seen no account. w

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v Neal's Hist. of New-England, vol. i. p. 240—243.

w Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 181. Mather, b. iii. p. 197.

## CHAPTER VII.

Renewal of the Charter of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel—Eliot publishes his Translation of the New Testament into the Indian Language—Extract from the dedication, referring to the education of the Indian youth—Further remarks on this subject—Eliot publishes his Translation of the Old Testament—Congratulatory remarks on this subject, addressed to Charles the Second, by the Commissioners of the United Colonies—Eliot's qualifications as a Translator of the Scriptures—He writes to the Rev. Richard Baxter about translations of useful books into the Indian Language—Publication of an Indian version of the book of Psalms in metre, of Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and of the Practice of Piety.

THE Indian Church had not been long formed, when several obstacles opposed the continuance of that liberality in England, by which the success of evangelizing the heathen in North America was principally supported. On the restoration of Charles the Second, it was found that the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New-England, with the money raised in the time of Cromwell,

had purchased land to the amount of between five and six hundred pounds a-year, was dead in point of law. Colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic officer in the king's army, took advantage of this circumstance, and re-possessed himself of an estate worth £322 a-year, which he had sold to the corporation. Refusing to deliver up what he had so unjustly taken possession of, he was opposed by Mr Henry Ashurst, the treasurer of the corporation, Mr Richard Baxter, and the Hon. Robert Boyle, who used their influence with Lord Chancellor Clarendon, to prevent his gross injustice. In consequence of their endeavours, a decree was obtained from the court of Chancery, on behalf of the society; to which the property was restored, and a new charter granted by his majesty, bearing date the 7th February, 1651, in which it was declared, that "there be, and for ever hereafter shall be, a society, or company, for propagation of the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America." Of this corporation Mr Ashurst was appointed treasurer, and Mr Boyle, president.\*

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\* Mr Boyle was a great friend to the work of the conversion of the Indians. He contributed considerable sums for its advancement,—and he discharged the duties connected with his office as President of the Corporation

The rest of the members were highly respectable for their rank, learning, and piety ; and they continued to manage its affairs with such prudence, that, with the money annually collected by the churches in Boston, it was found sufficient to support the different ministers and schoolmasters who devoted their attention to the Indians.\*

In September, 1661, Mr Eliot had the pleasure of seeing an edition of the New Testament, with marginal references, completed at press. It consisted of fifteen hundred copies, and was printed at the expence of the society for propagating the gospel in New-England. The commissioners of the united colonies, who, at this time, appear not to have been aware of the grant of a new charter to the corporation, with the view of interesting

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with great zeal and ability, till the year 1689, when, on account of his indisposition, he was compelled to tender his resignation. Mr Eliot was deeply sensible of his obligations to this illustrious and pious individual. In some of his letters we find him addressing him in the most grateful and affectionate manner.—*Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle ; Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 214.*

\* Baxter's Narrative of his Life and Times, p. 290. Neal's Hist. of New-England, vol. i. p. 260, 261. Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. lxxviii. lxxix. cxv.

his majesty in the work of propagating the gospel in North America, inserted a dedication to him in the copies of the translation which they sent to England.\* The following part of their address

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\* The following is an extract from the letter sent to England with the copies transmitted to the corporation. " Wee have heerwith sent you twenty peeces of the New Testament which wee desire may be thus disposed, viz : that two of the speciall being verry well bound up the one may be presented to his Majestie in the first place, the other to the Lord Chancellor; and that five more may be presented to Doctor Reynolds Mr Carrill Mr Baxter and the two vicechancellors of the Vniuersities whoe we vnderstand have greatly Incurraged the worke; the rest to be disposed of as you shall see cause." (*Thomas' Hist. of Printing in America*, vol. i. p. 471.) One of these copies of the translation of the New Testament, belonging to the Glasgow College Library, is at present before us. The following is the title, " Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumun Jesus Christ Nuppoquohwussuaneumun." As a specimen of the work we here subjoin the Lord's prayer. " Nooshun kesukqut, quttianatamunach koowesuonk. Peyaumootch kukketasootsmeonk ne au nach ehkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeetsuonqash asekesukokish assamaiinean yeuyu kesukod. Kah ahquontamaiinnean nummatcheseongash, neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontanounnonog. Ahque sagkompagunaiean en qutchhuaoonganit, webe pohqowussinean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutah-taan ketasootsmeonk, kah mensubkesuonk, kah sobsumoonk micheme. Amen.



refers to the progress of Mr Eliot's labour "The other end of our errand hither, the propagation of the gospel, hath been attended with endeavours and blessing; many of the wild Indians being taught, and understanding the doctrine of the Christian religion, and with much affection attending such preachers as are sent to teach them many of their children are instructed to write and read, and some of them have proceeded further to attain the knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in university learning. There are divers of them that can, and do read, some parts of the Scripture, and some catechisms, which formerly have been translated into their own language which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater work, viz. the printing of the whole Bible, which (being translated by a painful labourer amongst them, who was desirous to see the work accomplished in his days) hath already proceeded to the finishing of the New Testament."

The measures pursued for the instruction of the Indian youth, to which allusion is made by the commissioners, appear to have been of the most praise-worthy nature. A short time after the formation of the society for the propagation of the gospel in New-England, a considerab

number of schools were erected, which were well attended. Several of the more promising scholars for piety and talent were placed under a course of instruction, preparatory to their appointment as preachers to their countrymen. Considerable sums were expended in their board and education, but the object in view in the attention which was shewn to them was imperfectly attained. A few of them, it is true, who had acquired a respectable knowledge of English, Greek, and Latin, and of other branches of knowledge, were eventually employed with advantage as schoolmasters and teachers. Most of them died, however, when they had made considerable proficiency in their studies; and some of them abandoned their books, when they were prepared to enter college. These circumstances proved very discouraging to the godly people in New-England. Some were so far affected by them, as to conceive that they were manifest tokens of the divine disapprobation of the labours of Mr Eliot and the other evangelists; others, however, whose faith in the divine promises was more vigorous, considered them as trials sent by the King of the church, to which they ought to submit without reluctance. The plan of educating the youth was therefore persevered in; and in order to render it more perfect,

a substantial building of brick, which cost between three and four hundred pounds, was erected in connection with Harvard College in Cambridge. It was large enough to accommodate about twenty scholars; but on account of the death and failure of those who entered it,\* it was principally occupied by English students, and by a printing-press belonging to the corporation for propagating the gospel.<sup>b</sup>

Mr Eliot, having completed the translation of the New Testament, lost no time in proceeding with the Old; and, before the end of 1663, the whole Scriptures† were printed in the Indian language. The commissioners of the united colonies beheld with joy the completion of this

\* Only one of the Indians, Caleb Cheeschaumuk, appears to have obtained his degree at Harvard College. Another of them, however, at the conclusion of two Latin and Greek elegies, which he composed on the death of the Reverend Thomas Thacher, subscribes himself Eleazar SENIOR SOFISTA.—*Mather*, b. iv. p. 187. b. iii. p. 153.

<sup>b</sup> Gookin's Hist. Coll. in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 172, 174, 175, 176. History of Printing in America, by Isaiah Thomas, p. 240, 241.

† "The whole translation he wrote with but *one pen*." *Mather*, b. iii. p. 197.

work ; and were " bold," to use their own language, " to present them to his majesty." " Publications also of these sacred writings to the sons of men," they remarked, " (who here, and there only, have the mysteries of their eternal salvation revealed to them by the God of heaven,) is a work that the greatest princes have honoured themselves by. But to publish and communicate the same to a lost people, as remote from knowledge and civility, much more from Christianity, as they were from all knowing, civil, and Christian nations ; a people without law, without riches, or means to procure any such thing ; a people that sat as deep in darkness, and in the shadow of death, as, we think, any since the creation : this puts a lustre on it that is superlative. The southern colonies of the Spanish nation have sent home from this American continent much gold and silver, as the fruit and end of their discoveries and transplantations ;—that, we confess, is a scarce commodity in this colder climate. But, suitable to the ends of our undertaking, we present this, and other concomitant fruits of our poor endeavours to plant and propagate the gospel here, which, upon a true account, is as much better than gold, as the souls of men are more worth than the whole world. This is a nobler fruit, and, indeed, in

the counsels of all disposing providence, was an higher intended end, of Columbus his adventure. And though, by his brother's being hindered from a seasonable application, your famous predecessor and ancestor, King Henry the Seventh, missed of being sole owner of that discovery, and of the riches thereof; yet, if the honour of first discovering the true and saving knowledge of the gospel unto the poor Americans, and of erecting the kingdom of Jesus Christ among them, be reserved for, and do redound unto your majesty and the English nation, after ages will not reckon this inferior to the other. Religion is the end and glory of mankind."

These remarks of the commissioners may be thought by many in the present day, when translations of the Scriptures into the languages of heathen nations are not unfrequently executed, to be too much of a congratulatory nature; but it must be remembered, that Mr Eliot was among the first of uninspired men, who entertained the sublime idea of unfolding the whole of God's revelation before the eyes of poor heathen, and who actually accomplished such a work, in circumstances which demanded of him the greatest labour, and which, with thousands even of ardent and enlightened Christians, would have proved a sufficient excuse for treating it with neglect.

Mr Eliot's qualifications as a translator of the Bible were of a very high order. Possessed of a sound and enlightened judgment,—great patience of investigation,—a correct philological taste,—and an extensive critical knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Indian languages; entertaining a most sacred regard to divine truth; and exercising an humble dependance on the divine blessing, he was eminently fitted to make a faithful version of the books to which he devoted his attention. The only remark on the execution of his work which we are able to make, is, that, fearful lest the Indians might associate erroneous and dangerous ideas with the names of their heathen deities, he used the words, Jehovah, Lord, God, Christ,—which, though not intelligible by them without a particular explanation, would soon be viewed as exclusively expressive of the only living and true God, and the Saviour revealed in the Scriptures. In doing this, he certainly acted more agreeably to the dictates of Christian prudence, than some modern missionaries, who are represented as having overlooked the object of his Christian jealousy, though their circumstances evidently shewed that it merited their peculiar attention.

He lost no time, after the publication of the translation of the Bible, in turning his attention

to other means for the extension of his usefulness among the Indians. With his intentions we are made acquainted by the following letter, addressed to his very dear friend and correspondent, the Rev. Richard Baxter.

*“ Reverend and much esteemed in the Lord,*

“ However black the cloud is, and big the storm, yet by all this the work and design of Jesus Christ goeth on, and prospereth, and in these clouds Christ is coming to set up his kingdom. Yea, is he not come in power and great glory? and if Christ hath so much glory in the slaughter of his witnesses, what will his glory be in their resurrection! Your constancy, who are in the heat of the storm, and numbers, ministers matter of humbling and quickening to us who are at a distance, and ready to totter and comply at the noise of a probable approach of our temptation. We are not without our snares, but hitherto the Lord's own arm hath brought salvation. Our tents are at *Ebenezer*. However the trials and troubles be, we must take care of the present work, and not cease and tarry for a calm time to work in. And this principle doth give me occasion to take the boldness to trouble you with these lines at present. My work about the Indian

Bible being, by the good hand of the Lord, though not without difficulties, finished, I am meditating what to do next for these sons of this our morning: they having no books for their private use of ministerial composing. For their help,—though the word of God be the best of books, yet human infirmity is, you know, not a little helped by reading the holy labours of the ministers of Jesus Christ; I have therefore purposed in my heart, seeing the Lord is yet pleased to prolong my (life,) to translate for them a little book of yours, entitled, *A Call to the Unconverted*. The keenness of the edge, and liveliness of the spirit of that book, through the blessing of God, may be of great use unto them. But seeing you are yet in the land of the living, and the good Lord prolong your days, I would not presume to do such a thing, without making mention thereof unto yourself, that so I might have the help and blessing of your counsel and prayers. I believe it will not be unacceptable to you, that the call of Christ, by your holy labours, shall be made to speak in their ears, in their own language, that you may preach unto our poor Indians. I have begun the work already, and find a great difference from my former translations. I am forced sometimes to alter the phrase, for the facilitating and fitting it to our



language, in which I am not so strict as I was in the Scripture. Some things which are fitted for English people are not fitted for them, and in such cases I make bold to fit it for them. But I do little that way, knowing how much beneath wisdom it is, to shew a man's self witty, in mending another man's work. When this work is done, if the Lord shall please to prolong my life, I am meditating of translating some other book which may prescribe to them the way and manner of a Christian life and conversation, in their daily course ; and how to worship God on the Sabbath, fasting, feasting-days, and in all acts of worship, public, private, and secret ; and for this purpose I have thoughts of translating the *Practice of Piety*, or some other such book, in which case I request your advice to me ; for if the Lord give opportunity, I may hear from you before I shall be ready to begin a new work, especially because the Psalms of David in metre, in their language, are going to the press, which will be some diversion of me from a present attention on these other proposed works.—

“ I rejoice to see and taste the wonderful gracious savour of God's spirit among his saints, in their humble retirements. Oh ! how sweet is the trodden cammomile ! How precious and power-

ful is the ministry of the cross! It is a drier time with us who are making after compliances with the stream. Sir, I beseech you, let us have a share in your holy prayers, in your holy retirements, in your blessed chambers, when the Lord shuts the door, and is yet among you himself, and maketh your hearts to burn by the power of his presence. Thus commending you and all your holy labours to the Lord, and to the word of his grace, I rest,—Your unworthy fellow-labourer in the Lord's vineyard,

JOHN ELIOT." \* \* )

*ROXBURY, this 6th of }  
the 5th, 1663. }*

\* Baxter's Narrative of his Life and Times, p. 293—295.

\* From Mr Baxter's affectionate answer to this letter, we extract the following interesting sentences: "Though our sins have separated us from the people of our love and care, and deprived us of all public liberty of preaching the gospel of our Lord, I greatly rejoice in the liberty, help, and success which Christ hath so long vouchsafed you in his work. There is no man on earth whose work is more honourable or comfortable than yours. There are many here that would be ambitious of being your fellow-labourers, but that they are informed you have access to no greater a number of the Indians than you yourself, and your present assistants, are able to instruct. An honour-

The *Indian Primer* was published soon after the date of the preceding letter, and several copies

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able gentleman, (Mr Robert Boyle, the governor of the corporation for your work, a man of great learning and worth, and of a very public universal mind, did send to me a public collection, in all our churches, for maintaining of such ministers as are willing to go here to you, partly while they are learning the Indian languages, and partly while they after labour in the work, also to transport them. There are many here, I conjecture, that would be glad to go any whither, to Persia, Tartarians, Indians, or any unbelieving nation, to propagate the gospel, if they thought they could be serviceable, but the defect of their languages is a great discouragement."—*Baxter's Narrative of his Life & Times*, p. 297, 298. Mr Boyle's truly philanthropic proposal was not carried into effect. But while this circumstance equally excites our wonder and regret, it may be asked, what the feelings of Christians in the glorious time of the church will be, when they look back on the proceedings of Christians in the present day,—when they find that eminent facilities for the spread of the gospel were overlooked, and that hundreds of preachers and ministers neglectful of their obligations to the Saviour,—unmoved by the situation of perishing sinners,—and forgetful of their appearance before the judgment-seat of Christ, preferred their own ease and comfort to a life of active labour in the foreign service of Christ. "The industry of the Jesuits and friars," said Mr Baxter, "and the

were bound up with the Bible. When referring to this subject, Mr Eliot observes, " That the Indians are much pleased to have their language in metre and rithm, as it now is in the singing Psalms in some poor measure, enough to begin and break the ice withal : these they sing in our musical tone." The translation of Baxter's Call to the Unconverted appeared in 1664. It consisted of 130 pages of small 8vo. and a thousand copies were circulated with beneficial consequences. An interesting young Sachem, who had been brought to the knowledge of the truth, was so much delighted with it, that when he lay dying of a tedious distemper, he continued to read it with floods of tears in his eyes, while his strength lasted. The translation of the Practice of Piety first appeared in 1665. It was so highly valued by the Indians and their teachers, that it was re-printed in 1667, and 1687.<sup>d</sup>

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successes in Congo, Japan, China, &c. shame us all," This observation still demands the attention of the religious professor.

<sup>d</sup> Thomas' History of Printing in America, vol. i. p. 245, 257, 258, 262, 479. Mather, b. iii. p. 201. Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun, p. 4.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Eliot publishes a pamphlet on the divine management of Christian churches—Statement of his views on the subject of church-government—Account of his endeavours to excite the ministers in New-England to missionary labours—He encourages Thomas Mayhew, jun. to labour on Martha's Vineyard—Notices respecting the Rev. John Cotton, jun. Rev. John Eliot, jun. Rev. Abraham Pierson, Rev. James Fitch, Mr Dimes, and Mr Richard Bourne—Eliot publishes the *Indian Grammar*—He visits Mashpee, and receives instruction from the Indians there—He assists with Mr Cotton in the ordination of Mr Bourne at Mashpee and at Natick at Martha's Vineyard—He appoints preachers to the Indians of the praying towns in Massachusetts—He establishes a lecture at Natick, in which he explained the doctrines of theology, &c. to the Indians—He composes systems of the liberal arts for the use of the Indians—He forms an Indian church at Hassanamesitt—He endeavours to prevent a war between the rulers of Plymouth and the Wampanog Indians.

WHILE Mr Eliot was engaged in translating books on practical divinity, for the use of the Indians, he did not allow his zeal for the interests of the

churches of the English to decrease. His mind appears to have been deeply affected by the accounts in Scripture concerning the peacefulness of the kingdom of Christ; and, actuated by the most benevolent motives, he endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the Presbyterians and Independents. In 1665, he distributed a small pamphlet among his friends, containing a statement of his views on this subject. It was entitled, "Communion of churches; or, the divine management of gospel churches by the ordinance of councils, constituted in order according to the Scriptures: As also, the way of bringing all Christian parishes to be particular reforming Congregational Churches: humbly proposed as a way which hath so much light from the Scriptures of truth, as that it may be lawfully submitted unto by all, and may, by the blessing of the Lord, be a means of uniting these two holy and eminent parties, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. As also to prepare for the hoped-for resurrection of the churches; and to propose a way to bring all Christian nations into a unity of the faith and order of the gospel."

"Although a few copies of this small script are printed," he remarks in the preface, "yet it is not published, only committed privately to some

godly and able hands to be viewed; corrected, amended, or rejected, as it shall be found to hold weight in the sanctuary balance, or not. And it is the humble request of the author, that whatever objections, rectifications, or emendations, may occur, they may be conveyed unto him, who desireth nothing may be accepted in the churches, but what is according to the will and mind of God, and tendeth to holiness, peace, and the promotion of the holy kingdom of Jesus Christ. The procuring of half so many copies written and corrected, would be more difficult and chargeable than the printing of these few. I beg the prayers, as well as the pains of the precious servants of the Lord, that I may never have the least finger in doing any thing that may be derogatory to the holiness and honour of Jesus Christ and his churches. And to this I subscribe myself, one of the least of the labourers in the Lord's vineyard,

JOHN ELIOT.\*

Of the doctrines contained in this pamphlet, Dr Cotton Mather presents us with the following account: "There were especially two things which Mr Eliot was loth to see, and yet feared

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\* Thomas' History of Printing in America, vol. i. p. 273.

he saw falling off in New-England. One was, a thorough establishment of ruling-elders in our churches, which he thought sufficiently warranted by the apostles mention of elders that rule well, who yet labour not in word and doctrine. He was very desirous to have prudent and gracious men set over our churches, for the assistance of their pastors in the church-acts that concern the admission and exclusion of members, and the inspection of the conversation of the communicants, and the instruction of their several families, and the visitation of the afflicted in the flocks over which they should preside. Such 'helps in government,' he had himself been blessed with,—the last of whom was Mr Bowles; and of him, this good man, in a speech to a Synod of all the churches in this colony took occasion to say, 'There is my brother Bowles, the godly elder of our church at Roxbury, God helps him to do great things among us.' Had all our pastors been so well accommodated, it is possible there would be more encouragement given to such an office as that of ruling elders.

“ But the mention of a synod brings to mind another thing, which he was concerned that we might never want,—and that is, a frequent repetition of needful synods in our churches. For



though he had a deep and a due care to preserve the rights of particular churches, yet he thought all the churches of the Lord Jesus, by their union in what they profess,—in what they intend,—and in what they enjoy, so compacted into one body mystical, as that all the several particular churches every where should act with a regard unto the good of the whole, and unto the common advice and counsel of the neighbourhood; which cannot always be done by letters missive, like those that passed between Corinth and Rome in the early days of Christianity, but requires a convention of the churches in synods, by their delegates and messengers. He did not count churches to be so independent, as that they can always discharge their whole duty, and yet not act in conjunction with neighbouring churches; nor would he be of any church that would not acknowledge itself accountable to rightly composed synods, which may have occasion to inquire into the circumstances of it. He saw the main interest and business of churches might quickly come to be utterly lost, if synods were not often called for the repairing of inconveniences; and he was much in contriving for the regular and repeated meeting of such assemblies.

“ He wished for councils to suppress all dam-

nable heresies or pernicious opinions that might rise among us; for councils to distinguish all dangerous divisions and scandalous contentions which might ever begin to flame in our borders; for councils to rectify all mal-administrations in the midst of us, or to recover any particular churches out of any disorders which they might be plunged into; for councils to inquire into the love, the peace, the holiness maintained by the several churches; and in fine, to send forth fit labourers into those parts of our Lord's harvest which are without the gospel of God. He beheld an apostolical precept and pattern for such councils; and when such councils, convened in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by the consent of several churches concerned in mutual communion, have ~~appeared~~, explained, recommended the mind of God from his word unto us, he reckoned a truth so delivered, challenged observation from the particular churches, with a very great authority." <sup>b</sup>

Whatever difference of opinion may be entertained respecting Mr Eliot's sentiments on the subject of church government, it cannot be denied, that the system which he recommended is in

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<sup>b</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 189, 190.

a greater or less degree acted on by all religious denominations, when they labour to propagate the gospel. It was from a view to the promotion of this object, indeed, that he longed so much to see the establishment of regular councils.

Labouring among the Indians from the most disinterested motives, he was exceedingly desirous of the assistance of other ministers of the gospel. He saw that while the harvest was great, the labourers were few; and he constantly prayed that God, who has the hearts of all men at his disposal, would incline the minds of many of the preachers of his word to commiserate the perishing heathen. Not resting satisfied with his prayers, however, he endeavoured, in the use of all the means in his power, to induce his brethren to engage in labours similar to his own; and, through the kind providence of his heavenly Father, he was not altogether unsuccessful.\*

From the commencement of his missionary work, he had manifested the greatest interest in the labours, at Martha's Vineyard, of the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, jun.—encouraged him, amidst the various difficulties which he had to encounter,—

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\* Mather, b. iii. p. 200. Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 172.

and directed him in the prosecution of his studies with the view of rendering him more extensively useful. On the death of this distinguished evangelist, he also endeavoured to encourage his aged father, who, in the exercise of his love for the souls of the poor Indians, devoted himself to their instruction. <sup>d</sup>\*

The Rev. John Cotton, the second son of the celebrated Cotton of Boston, was so far convinced of his duty to labour among the Indians, by means of Mr Eliot's counsels,—and so much encouraged by his success, that by extraordinary diligence he endeavoured to acquire their language. In the year 1664, he went to Martha's Vineyard, and preached to the English at the east end of the island. Dissatisfied with the sphere of his usefulness, as a pastor to those who had made a profession of the gospel, he soon turned his attention to his heathen brethren, made very great proficiency in their language, and laboured among

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<sup>d</sup> Prince's account of those English Ministers who presided at Martha's Vineyard, *apud* Mayhew's *Indian Converts*, p. 292.

\* For an account of Thomas Mayhew, sen. and several of his descendants who laboured among the Indians, see Appendix (G).

them with considerable success, till November 1667, when he removed to Plymouth, with the view of continuing his exertions in that colony.\*

A short time after Mr Cotton's entrance on the missionary work, Mr Eliot had the pleasure of seeing his own eldest son resolve to follow his footsteps. This excellent young man "bore," says Dr Mather, "his father's name, and he had his father's grace." He obtained his second degree at Harvard College in 1656, and it is probable that he soon afterwards engaged in the work of the ministry. He was a person of distinguished accomplishments, and a lively, zealous, and acute preacher to the English at New-Cambridge. He regularly addressed the Indians once a fortnight at Pakemitt, and sometimes at Natick and other places, and was highly esteemed by the most judicious of them. He died on the 11th October, 1668, and, on his death-bed, uttered such penetrating thoughts, as shewed that he was on the borders of eternal glory. "It pleased God," said a pious gentleman, who was well acquainted with

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\* Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 299. Mather, b. iii. p. 200. Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 203, 204. Neal's New-England, vol. i. p. 250.

\* Appendix (H).

is Christian life, " to carry him with full sail to heaven, there to receive his crown."<sup>f</sup>

The Rev. Abraham Pierson, a native of Yorkshire, who, on his removal to New-England, became pastor of a church at Southampton, and afterwards at Branford, in the jurisdiction of Connecticut, acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, composed a catechism in it in 1658, and preached to the heathen for several years. He met with little success in his missionary efforts; but, when he removed to New-Jersey, the Rev. James Fitch, pastor of the English church at Norwich, directed his attention to the field which he appeared to cultivate in vain, and reaped a considerable harvest. <sup>g</sup>\*

Mr Eliot, in the course of his missionary labours, had travelled several times into Plymouth colony, and had been instrumental in leading some of the Indians in that quarter to embrace the gospel. Animated by his example and ex-

<sup>f</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 173. b. iv. p. 137. Gookin's Hist. Coll. in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 171, 218.

<sup>g</sup> Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i, p. 207, 208. Mather, b. iii. p. 95, 200. Thomas' Hist. of Printing, vol. i. p. 208.

\* Appendix (1).

hortations, several persons resolved to attempt the work in which he was so successful. Mr Thomas Tupper, a military man, who is said to have been a little tinged with fanaticism, turned his attention to the Indians to the northward and westward of Sandwich, and founded a church near Herring River.\* Mr Richard Bourne, a gentleman of very considerable property, who was highly distinguished for his knowledge of the Scriptures, and personal piety, acquired a competent knowledge of the language of the Indians; and applied himself to preach the gospel to such of them' as dwelt near his house at Sandwich. Finding that the blessing of the Lord accompanied his exertions, he extended his sphere, and brought considerable numbers under the influence of divine truth. <sup>h</sup> †

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\* This church was supplied by a succession of ministers of the name of Tupper till 1787, when the Rev. Elisha Tupper, the great grandson of the first evangelist, died aged fourscore years.—*Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.* vol. iii. p. 189.

<sup>h</sup> Gookin, in *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.* vol. i. p. 188, 189, 190.

† Besides the individuals whom we have now noticed, the Rev. Richard Blynman, who had been a minister in Wales, and the Rev. — James of Easthampton, and

While Mr Eliot was thus encouraged by his fellow-labourers, he published, in 1666, "The Indian Grammar begun; or an essay to bring the Indian language into rules, for the help of such as desire to learn the same, for the furtherance of the gospel among them." The dedication of this work, addressed "To the Right Honourable Robert Boyle, governor, with the rest of the Right Honourable and Christian Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel unto the Indians in New-England," being not unworthy of notice, is here subjoined.

"Noble Sir,—You were pleased, among other testimonies of your Christian and prudent care for the effectual progress of this great work of the Lord Jesus, among the inhabitants of these ends of the earth, and goings down of the sun, to *command me* (for such an aspect have your so wise and seasonable motions to my heart) to

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the Rev. William Tompson of Braintree, appear to have been engaged about 1665, in preaching to the Indians in New-England. We have seen no memorial of their labours. According to Mr Hubbard, the author of an account of the Indian Wars in New-England, Mr Thorps, and Mr Stockain, had about the same time directed their attention to the Indians in Virginia.



compile a grammar of this language, for the help of others who have an heart to study and learn the same,—for the sake of Christ, and of the poor souls of these ruins of mankind, among whom the Lord is now about a resurrection-work, to call them into his holy kingdom. I have made an essay unto this difficult service, and laid together some bones and ribs preparatory at least for such a work. It is not worthy the name of a grammar, but such as it is, I humbly present it to your honours, and request your animadversions upon the work, and prayers unto the Lord for a blessing upon all essays and endeavours for the promoting of his glory, and the salvation of the souls of these poor people. Thus humbly commending your honours unto the blessing of heaven, and to the guidance of the word of God, which is able to save your souls,—I remain, your honours servant in the service of our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.

The Indian grammar, though very brief, affords satisfactory proof that Mr Eliot was a distinguished philologist. Some of the remarks on the formation of an alphabet, and facilitating the art of reading, which it contains, are inserted in the Appendix.\* They display strong sense, and are

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\* Appendix (K)

is unworthy of the attention of the missionary who may be called to commit a heathen language for the first time to writing. In the postscript addressed to the prudent inquirer, the following sentences occur, which ought deeply to affect the heart of every reader. "We must not sit still and look for miracles. Up and be doing, and the word will be with thee. Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing. *Nil tam difficile quod non.*—I do believe and hope that the gospel shall be spread to all the ends of the earth, and dark corners of the world, by such a way and by such instruments as the churches shall send forth for that end and purpose. Lord, hasten these good days, and pour out that good spirit upon thy people. Amen."

In the year 1666, Mr Eliot, the honourable governor, and several magistrates and ministers of Plymouth colony, collected at Mashpee\* a vast

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\* The Rev. Gideon Hawley, a missionary who died here in 1806, says there was no place which he ever saw so adapted for an Indian town as this; and that Mr. Bourne, with the assistance of his son Shearjashub, secured the lands connected with it, "so that no part or parcel of them could be bought by, or sold to any white person or persons, without the consent of all the Indians,

multitude of the Indians, among whom Mr Bourne laboured; and received from many of them confessions relative to their knowledge, faith, and Christian practice. The good people were extremely gratified by the understanding and affection displayed on this occasion; but such was their strictness, that, before they would countenance the admission of the converts into church-fellowship, they ordered the confessions to be written, and sent to all the churches in the colony for consideration.

The confessions of Mr Bourne's converts having met with the deliberate approbation of the New-England churches, Mr Eliot, and Mr John Cotton, went down to Mashpee, on the 17th August, 1670, and ordained Mr Bourne as their pastor.\* On the 22d of the same month they passed over to Martha's Vineyard, where they admitted many Indians as members of the church which had been previously formed in that island, and ordained Hiacoomes, the first convert, as minister, John Tockinosh, as teacher, and John

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not even with the consent of the general court."—*Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. iii. p. 190.*

\* Appendix (L).

Nonoco, and Joshua Mummeecheeg as ruling elders.<sup>1</sup>

In the "Briefe Narrative" of the progress of the gospel among the Indians in New-England, which contains the account of Mr Eliot's visit to Mashpee, and Martha's Vineyard, we have a particular description of eight praying towns in the colony of Massachusetts, which enjoyed his vigilant superintendence. As we shall have occasion, however, to notice the state of Christianity among the Indians in the year 1674, when it had made greater progress, it is unnecessary to mention any other circumstance connected with them, than the appointment of teachers, who were required to instruct their inhabitants in the principles of our holy religion. These teachers were generally chosen from among the Indians. "The learned English young men did not hitherto incline, or endeavour, to fit themselves for that service, by learning the Indian language. Possibly the reasons may be, *first*, the difficulty to attain that speech. *Secondly*, little encourage-

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<sup>1</sup> Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. iii. p. 189. Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 204. Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 300. Hutch. Hist. of Mass. Bay, p. 166.

ment while they prepare for it. *Thirdly*, the difficulty in the practice of such a calling among them, by reason of their poverty and barbarity, which cannot be grappled with, unless the person be very much mortified, self-denying, and of a public spirit, seeking greatly God's glory; and these are rare qualifications in young men. It is but one of an hundred that is so endowed.<sup>j</sup>

With the view of improving the understandings of the Indians in general, and of the teachers and rulers in particular, Mr Eliot about this time established a lecture at Natick, in which he explained the leading doctrines of theology and logic. His labours in this respect were eminently useful; and though he lectured only once a fortnight, during the summer months, several of his scholars gained much knowledge, and soon became able to speak methodically and profitably upon any plain text of Scripture. Notwithstanding this success, he was far from being satisfied with his oral instructions, and he printed, in 1672, 1000 copies of a logic primer, and made little systems of all the liberal arts, for the use of the Indians.<sup>k</sup>

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<sup>j</sup> Gookin, p. 183.

<sup>k</sup> Boyle's Works, p. ccv. Gookin's Hist. Coll. p.

No man was ever more firmly convinced of the mighty efficiency, under the divine blessing, of the grand instrument for the propagation of the gospel, than Mr Eliot. He saw, however, that while from the declarations of Scripture, and a consideration of facts, the conversion of souls was principally to be looked for from preaching the doctrine of Christ crucified, it was his duty to use all the means in his power to promote the cultivation of the mental faculties of the converts. His efforts for the accomplishment of this object must appear to have been very important. While they were calculated to raise the Indians in the scale of being, and to promote their improvement in civilization, they must have been favourable to the progress of the truth, by enabling those who had embraced it, to illustrate and defend its principles and effects.

The inhabitants of Hassanamesitt, one of the praying towns, situated about thirty-eight miles from Boston, having erected a place of worship after the English fashion, and having manifested great attention to the word, had the pleasure in 1671, of seeing a church established among them

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Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 183. Thomas' History of Printing, p. 271. Mather, b. iii. p. 184.

by Mr Eliot. Tuckupawillin, who had acted as their teacher for some time past, and given proof of his piety and talents, was appointed the minister. We are unable to give any correct statement respecting the number of individuals who were admitted as members of this church at the time of its formation. It is probable, however, that they were not numerous.<sup>1</sup>

About the time when this church was gathered, Mr Eliot having been informed that the rulers and inhabitants of Plymouth colony intended to wage war against a particular tribe of the Indians, assembled the church at Natick, and composed the following instructions for two of its members who were requested to act as mediators :

“ We, the poor church at Natick, hearing that the honoured rulers and good people of Plymouth are pressing and arming of soldiers to go to war against the Missokonog Indians, (for what cause we know not,) though they yet pray not to God, yet we hope they will ; and we do mourn and pray for them, and desire greatly that they may not be destroyed ; especially because we have not heard that they have done any thing worthy of death. Therefore we do send these, our two

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<sup>1</sup> Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 168.

brethren, Anthony and William, who were formerly our messengers to those parts, and we request John Sausiman to join them. And this list we commit unto you, our dear brethren and loved,

“ 1. To go to the Missokonog Indians, or who may be concerned in the quarrel; tell them the poor church of Natick sends them two Scriptures, which we intreat them to obey. The first Deut. xx. 10, 11, where we see, as it is the duty of Plymouth to offer you peace before they war upon you, so it is your duty to offer, accept, and desire peace; and we pray you, for God's sake, and for your soul's sake obey this word of God. The second text is 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, here God commandeth, that when differences arise among people, they ought to put their differences to arbitration of others; and, therefore, we do exhort you to obey this word of God; and whatever differences are betwixt you and the English of Aquidneck, or betwixt you and Plymouth, refer them all to the judgments of the elders of the Massachusetts, and whatever they judge do you obey; lay down your lives, and all you have, at their feet.

If they of Missokonog accept this our exhortation, tell them that the church hath also sent you



to the governor, to tell him what the church hath done, and how acceptable it is to you, and that you do obey both these words of God. You desire peace, and desire to refer the whole matter to the judgment of the government of Massachusetts.

“ 2. When you come to the governor, tell him that the church hath sent you to be mediators of peace on the behalf of the Missokonog Indians, or any other of their neighbours; tell him that they yield willing obedience to those texts of Scripture, and therefore tell him that the poor church of Natick doth beseech him, and all the rest of the magistrates, for God's sake, who is the King of peace, and our great peace-maker in heaven, that they would accept this offer and submission unto peace, and unto the instituted way of making and establishing of peace, and to cease pressing and arming of soldiers, and marching against them that are desirous of peace. I beseech you to consider what comfort it will to kill or be killed, when no capital sin hath been committed, or defended by them, (that we of.)

“ And we request you, our beloved brethren be speedy in your motions. We shall endeavour to follow you with our prayers, and long to

of a happy peace, that may open a clear door for the passage of the gospel among that people. Thus commending you to God in prayer, we do send you forth upon this great service of peace-making, which is evidently the flower and glory of Christ his kingdom.

JOHN ELIOT,

*with the consent of the church.*

*Narsick, August  
or 6mo. 1st, 1671.* }

These instructions cannot be considered without interest. Simple as they are, they form a beautiful illustration of the benevolent feelings which the gospel inspires, and unfold an affection on the part of Mr Eliot and his converts, for those who had no other claim to their regards, than the circumstance that they were their fellow-creatures, which is rarely exemplified; but, which it is the duty of every professed follower of the Prince of peace to manifest on every occasion on which a disposition exists, in consequence of unrestrained ambition, the unhallowed love of glory, over-sensitive jealousy, or sinful distrust in the providence of God,—the common sources of war, to hurry immortal souls, burning with vindic-

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<sup>m</sup> Coll. of the Mass. Hist. Soc. 1799. p. 202—3.

ive feelings, into the presence of an infinite holy God. There is frequently a moral courage in forbearance ;—a courage, which, though nursed by the commendations of the mighty in this world, whose praises, when properly considered, are a reproach to humanity, may produce more surprising results than the valour of a hero has yet been able to accomplish.

## CHAPTER IX.

**Account of the praying towns in Massachusetts under Eliot's care in 1674—Account of King Philip's war, and its evil consequences with regard to the praying Indians—Extract from one of Eliot's letters, addressed to the Hon. Robert Boyle—Publication of a second edition of the Indian New Testament—Extracts from two letters addressed to Boyle, illustrative of Eliot's anxiety to circulate the Scriptures among the Indians—Money granted to Eliot to enable him to publish a second edition of the Indian Old Testament—Letter from Eliot to Boyle—Extract from Dr Increase Mather's Letter to Dr Leusden of Utrecht—Eliot's last Letter to Boyle.**

**IN the year 1674, when Major Gookin completed his "Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England," the principal praying towns in the colony of Massachusetts, under the care of Mr Eliot, amounted to seven. Of these we shall give such an account as is necessary to illustrate the success which, under the divine blessing, had accompanied the labours of Mr Eliot.**

**1. NATICK, where the first Christian church**

was formed in the year 1660, contained twenty-nine families, and one hundred and forty-five souls, who occupied about six thousand acres of land. Most of these were of course able to attend the house of God. On the Lord's day, fast-days, \* and lecture-days, they assembled at the sound of a drum. Their teachers were Anthony and John Speen; who, in conducting the religious exercises of the church, followed the example of the English. Their services consisted of solemn prayer, reading the Scriptures, praise, catechizing, preaching, and pronouncing the blessing. "In all these acts of worship, for I have been often present with them," says Major Gookin, "they demean themselves visibly with reverence, attention, modesty, and solemnity,—the men-kind sitting by themselves, and the women-kind by themselves, according to their age, quality, and degree, in a comely manner. And for my own part, I have no doubt, but am fully satisfied, according to the judgment of charity, that divers of them do fear God, and are true believers." A considerable number of them

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\* Mr Eliot taught the converts to set apart days for fasting and prayer, whenever they should have occasion; and they performed the duties connected with them with a very laborious piety.—*Mather's Magnalia*, b. iii. p. 202.

were church members, and united with the Christian Indians of some of the neighbouring towns in celebrating the dying-love of Jesus.

2. PAKEMITT, or PUNKAPOG,\* was situated about fourteen miles south from Boston, contained about twelve families, and sixty souls, and possessed six thousand acres of land. The Indians who lived in this place had removed from Nepon-sitt mill, and had been severely tried by the apostacy, death, and removal of some of their members, and by the afflictive dispensations of divine providence. They enjoyed the instructions of William Abatwon, a young man of piety and talent.

3. HASSANAMESITT,† the town at which the church was formed in 1671, was inferior to none of the other Indian plantations in the extent, fertility, and culture of its lands; and it annually produced a large quantity of grain and fruits. About thirty baptized persons, sixteen of whom were communicants, resided within its bounds, and worshipped God in a most becoming manner. When the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed, they were joined by other church members, who resided in other places.

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\* Stoughton.

† Grafton.

4. OKOMMAKAMESIT \* was situated about ten miles westward from Boston, and contained ten families, and fifty souls. The land belonging to it consisted of six thousand acres, and was all cultivated. It possessed several good farms planted by the Indians. It had suffered by the death of its ruler, who is represented as a very pious and judicious man. Its name was Solomon.

5. WAMESIT OF PANTUCKET † was situated between Concord and Merrimack rivers, and was about twenty miles from Boston. It contained only twenty-five hundred acres of fertile land, but contained about fifteen families and fifty souls. These observed the same religious orders as the inhabitants of the other towns, and had a constable and other officers. A teacher called Samuel, who having been appointed at the expence of the corporation, possessed a respectably cultivated mind.

This place was well situated as a fishing resort, and great numbers of the Indians resorted from various quarters during the fishing season. Mr Eliot, as we have seen, taking advantage of this circumstance, had long been accustomed

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\* Marlborough.

† Tewksbury.

as them on the welfare of their immortal with considerable success. His last visit ecularly encouraging. On the evening of th of May, he arrived, accompanied by

Gookin; and preached from the parable of arriage of the king's son, to as many of the s as he could assemble in the wigwam of dled Wannalancet. This person, the eldest

Papassaconaway, the chief Sachem of Pan-; of whom already we have had occasion to otice, was remarkable for his sobriety, and

en fifty and sixty years old. Repeated en-urs had been made, some years ago, to in-him to embrace the Christian religion; but had been attended with no other effect than f leading him to express his willingness to

the gospel, and observe the Sabbath. On ccasion, however, he was seriously pressed re his answer concerning praying to God; after some deliberation, he stood up, and a speech to this effect:—

irs, you have been pleased for four years n your abundant love, to apply yourselves arly unto me and my people, to exhort, and persuade us to pray to God. I am hankful to you for your pains. I must ac- edge, I have all my days used to pass in an



old canoe, and now you exhort me to change my old canoe and embark in a new canoe, to which I have hitherto been unwilling; but now I yield up myself to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Wannalanset's professed subjection to the gospel was gratifying to all who were present; but Mr Eliot, at the request of Mr Richard Daniel of Bellerica, informed him, that "when he went in his old canoe, he passed in a quiet stream, but the end thereof was death and destruction to soul and body; while, when he went into a new canoe, he would perhaps meet with storms and trials,—but yet he should be encouraged to persevere, for the end of his voyage would be everlasting rest." It is pleasing to add, that this Sachem continued, on the whole, stedfast in the faith, and regular in his attendance on divine worship, though deserted on these accounts by several of his people.

6. NASHOBAH,\* situated about twenty-five miles West-North-West from Boston, contained about ten families and fifty souls, who were placed under the care of a teacher named John

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\* Littleton.

Thomas.\* Its lands, which were about four miles square in extent, were fertile and well watered. Part of them were occupied with orchards of apples, "whereof the Indians made cyder, which some of them had not the wisdom and grace to use for their comfort."

7. MAGUMKAQUOG, † situated between Natick and Hassanamesitt, contained about eleven families, and fifty-five souls, fifteen of whom were baptized, and eight members of the church at Natick. Their teacher's name was Job, and they worshipped God, kept the Sabbath, and observed civil order in a becoming manner, like the other praying Indians.‡

Besides the towns of which we have now given an account, there were several others in the Nipmuck country, called the new praying towns, to which the General Court of the colony of Massachusetts had not hitherto granted any lands.

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\* John Thomas was among the first of the praying Indians, and joined the church when it was gathered at Natick. He was exemplary through life, and died in 1727, aged one hundred and ten years.—*Holmes' American Annals*, vol. ii. p. 103.

† Hopkinton.

‡ Gookin's Hist. Coll. in Coll. of Mass., Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 180—189.

On the 14th September, 1764, Mr Eliot and Major Gookin proceeded to visit them, with the view of endeavouring to confirm the converts in the faith of the Christian religion, and of establishing civil government among them. They were accompanied by five or six judicious Indians, whom they intended to appoint as ministers in the towns which had not been already placed under the direction of any stated instructors; and they found in general a most cordial reception. As nothing of particular interest, however, occurred on their journey, we shall merely annex a table, containing a list of the towns, the names of the teachers, &c.

Towns.	Teachers.	Inhabitants.	Miles distant from Boston.
Mauchage,	Washeektamin,	60	50
Chabanokonghomun,	Joseph,	45	55 S.W.
Mamorit,	John Moque,	100	60 S.W.
Quantisset,	Daniel,	100	
Wabquisset,	Sampson,	150	75 S.W.
Packachoog,	James Speen,	100	66
Wastung,	James and Sasmit,	50 supposed,	
Weshakim, } Quabaog, }	Jethro,	not fully settled, and not visited.	56

From the preceding account of the praying towns in the Colony of Massachusetts, it is apparent that Mr Eliot was, in the year 1764, rationally permitted to entertain the hope that God had abundantly blessed his labours. The

work, however, in which he was engaged, was greatly retarded by a war, in which the colonists of New-England were involved with Philip, the principal chief of the Indians, and son of Massasoit, the celebrated friend of the English.

The English, since the commencement of their first colonies, had conducted themselves with great kindness to their heathen brethren; and, in general, had refused to take possession of any portions of land which they had not obtained by honest purchase from the Indian proprietors. Notwithstanding this circumstance, it is not to be wondered at, that the jealousy of the Sachems should have been excited by the progress which the strangers were evidently making, and that they should use all the means in their power to prevent encroachments, the tendency of which was to lessen their territory and authority.

In the end of 1674, John Sausiman, a converted Indian who, after having apostatized from the true faith, and devoted himself to the service of Philip as secretary, had been induced by Mr Eliot to return to the bosom of the church, and to engage in propagating the gospel, informed the English that his profane countrymen had resolved to adopt measures for their destruction, and that

he dreaded that he would be murdered by some of Philip's men.

A short time after this communication had been made, Tobias, one of Philip's chief captains, with the assistance of his son and another Indian, proceeded to murder Sausiman, and pretended that he was drowned. The barbarous deed, however, was speedily brought to light by Nahawton, one of the praying Indians, who had been made acquainted with the circumstances connected with it by one of the spectators ; and the English, having caused the perpetrators to be apprehended, found them guilty, by a jury composed of an equal number of Indians and English, and ordered them to be executed on the 4th of June, 1675.

Philip, having heard of the condemnation of one of his counsellors, and being conscious that he had given reason to the colonists to suspect that he had formed a conspiracy for their destruction, and that he had been accessory to the murder, became apprehensive of personal danger, and, contrary to a most solemn agreement, resolved to commence hostilities against the English. Finding his strength greatly increased by the accession of several Indian tribes, he soon carried his purposes into effect, and appeared for a short time to bid defiance to the combined forces of the colo-

the of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Newhaven.

The converted Indians were naturally attached to the service of their invaluable benefactors ; and a considerable number of them took up arms against their infidel countrymen. Most of these, who were often placed in difficult circumstances, displayed considerable skill, bravery, and fidelity ; and several of them laid down their lives for the sake of their friends. Unmoved by these circumstances, and ungrateful for the assistance which they received, the colonists, from the fact that a few professors of religion had been induced to unite with Philip, contracted the most unreasonable prejudices against the converts in general. They viewed them with abhorrence, and distrust ; and, not content with confining them in Long-Island, and subjecting them to great sufferings, they thought them worthy of death. Mr Eliot, whose dread of war we have already had occasion to observe, exerted himself to the utmost of his power to protect his children in the faith, and to watch over their interests. To the everlasting disgrace of many of his countrymen, however, he was, on this account, subjected to much contempt and reproach. As an illustration of this painful remark, we may take notice of a

fact, which exhibits an almost incredible malevolence on the part of an individual whose name is deservedly forgotten. On a certain occasion, during the war, Mr Eliot went to sea in a small boat, which happened to be upset by a larger vessel. When about to sink, without the expectation of rising again, he exclaimed, "The will of the Lord be done!" He was happily rescued from the imminent danger in which he was placed; but his deliverance, instead of being a matter of joy to all his acquaintances, led one of them to remark, that he wished that he had been drowned!

After a very severe struggle, attended by the loss of a great number of the colonists, and much injury to their possessions, the war was terminated by the slaughter of Philip, and many of his warriors, on the 12th of August, 1676. On its conclusion, Mr Eliot had the pain to observe that his fairest prospects were in a great measure blasted. He found many of the praying towns wholly destroyed.\* He was called to lament the total defection of some of the Indians, whose professions had lately cheered his heart,—to observe that the love of others had waxed cold,—

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\* In one of his letters addressed to Mr Boyle, he says that they were reduced to four.

and to mourn over the premature death of some who had promised to be useful in advancing the cause of Christ. In these trying circumstances, however, he knew where to look for comfort and support. While he contemplated the Lord's goodness to him during his past life, he knew that the duty of labouring among the heathen, resting on a divine command, was altogether independent of the success which might be vouchsafed to him; and, in the exercise of faith he could say, "Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God."<sup>b</sup>

While, undismayed by the severe trials which he experienced, he exercised this humble confidence in the goodness and faithfulness of God, he was not permitted to labour without receiving that token of the divine approbation in which he most delighted. The Lord looked down in mercy on his servant, and caused the blessing of the Holy Spirit to accompany his preaching. "The

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<sup>b</sup> Hutchinson, *pp.* 198. 284—286. A brief History of the War with the Indians in New-England, by Increase Mather, London, 1676, *passim*. Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 195. Mather, b. iii. p. 182; b. vii. p. 45—56. Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 296. Hubbard's Narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New-England, part i. p. 18, 19 part ii. p. 85. ●



Eastern Indians," he remarked in a letter dated 4th Nov. 1680, and addressed to Mr Boyle, "do offer to submit themselves to be taught to pray unto God. A chief Sachem was here about it, a man of a grave and discreet countenance. Our praying Indians, both in the islands and on the main, are (considered together) numerous: thousands of souls, of whom some are true believers, some learners, and some are still infant. All of them beg, cry, and entreat for Bibles, having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want."<sup>c</sup>

The effect of this success which was granted to Mr Eliot, was that of leading him to abound still more and more in the work of the Lord, and to use all the means in his power to satisfy the desire for the sacred Scriptures which existed in the minds of the Indians. With the assistance of Mr John Cotton of Plymouth, he, therefore, resolved to publish a second edition of his translation of the New Testament, and before the end of this year he carried his resolutions into effect.

He had no sooner finished the second edition of the New Testament, than he resolved to proceed with the Old. The following extracts from two of his letters addressed to Mr Boyle,

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\* • Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. ccvii. ccviii.

make us acquainted with his feelings and desires on this subject, and exhibit a very tender affection for the prosperity of the Christian Indians, and for the progress of scriptural knowledge.

*ROXBURY, March 15, 1682-3.*

*Right Honourable, &c.*

“ The Lord’s work still goeth on among them ; and though many of the younger sort, since the wars, (where their souls received a wound) have declined, and too much miscarried, yet now, through the grace of Christ, they are on the repenting and recovering hand.—

“ The great work that I travel about is the printing of the Old Testament, that they may have the whole Bible. I desire to see it done before I die, and I am so deep in years that I cannot expect to live long ; besides, we have but one man, viz. the Indian printer, who is able to compose the sheets, and correct the press, with understanding. For such reasons, so soon as I received the sum of near £40 for the bible work, I presently set the work on foot ; and one tenth part near is done :—we are in Leviticus. I have added some part of my salary to keep up the work ; and many more things I might add as reasons of my urgency in this matter.—

“ The Manquaoy Indians have not stirred to fall upon this last year ; but we are not yet fully settled in peace—because they declare the Eastern Indians to be their enemies, and the way unto them is through us ; and our Wameset Indians, who are our most northerly plantation, are in danger to be their thoroughfare. And this putteth us into many fears ; but our hope and help is in God,—our eyes are unto him. This world is a place and state, wherein God’s people must expect nothing steadfast :—all things are mutable and affecting.”

*Boston, June 21. 1683.*

“ *Right Honourable nursing Father,*

“ Your hungry alumnos do still cry unto your honour for the milk of the word in the whole book of God, and the bread of life which they have fed on in the whole bible, and are very thankful for what they have, and importunately desirous to enjoy the whole book of God. It is the greatest charity in the world to provide for their souls.—They only stay for that word from your honour, *fiat*. My age makes me importunate. I shall depart joyfully, may I but leave the Bible among them, for it is the word of life ; and there be some godly souls among them that live thereby. The work is under great incumberments

and discouragements. My heart hath much ado to hold up my head; but it doth daily drive me to Christ, and I tell the Lord that it is his word; and your hearts are in his hands. I do, therefore, commit the whole to the Lord, and leave both it and myself to the Lord, who hath not left me wholly destitute."<sup>d</sup>

Mr Eliot, exercising this trust in that gracious providence which had hitherto supplied all his wants, commenced the printing of the Old Testament, before he had received the permission of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New-England. He had not advanced far in the work, however, when he received £460 to enable him to carry it on. In acknowledging the receipt of this sum, in a letter addressed to Mr Boyle, and dated 27th Nov. 1683, he requested a "curtain of love to be drawn over all his failures," and apologized for his haste; remarking that it was "Christ's work, and for the good of souls, which it was his charge to attend, and run adventures to accomplish."<sup>e</sup> Happy would it be for the cause of Christ, if those, who profess to be attached to it, were deeply impressed with this truth, and determined

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<sup>d</sup> Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. ccix.

Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. ccx.

to use with humility all the means in their power to advance the interests of his kingdom.

In the beginning of the year 1684, he gratefully received an additional sum of £ to aid him in printing the Old Testament took occasion to present Mr Boyle with an account of the state of religion among the *pr* Indians. He concluded his observations on subject in the following terms: "By this it peareth that they are, in some good measure, by the light of the Scriptures, and by examples of the churches of Christ, and by instructions as they have had, to practise manage the whole instituted public worship to God among themselves, without the present inspection of any English among them, which is no small addition and advancement of the Kingdom of Christ; and it is no small comfort to whom divine providence and grace hath made of the poor instruments, to instruct and manage them into this estate in Christ Jesus, where they have attained."<sup>f</sup> The second edition of Bible, on account of the sickness of the few persons engaged in printing it, and other unfavourable circumstances, did not appear till 1685. It

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<sup>f</sup> Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. ccx. ccxi.

sted of two thousand copies, for which there was a great demand.<sup>s</sup> A short time after its publication, the praying Indians appear to have been involved in great difficulties. These are referred to in one of Mr Eliot's letters, addressed to Mr Boyle, which we here insert.

*Roxbury, Aug. 29, 1686, in the  
third month of our overthrow.*

*“ Right Honourable unweariable nursing father,*

“ I have nothing new to write but lamentations, and I am loath to grieve your loving and noble soul.

“ Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God. The Bible is come forth; many hundreds are bound up and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may re-impress the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not yet spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can. I know not what to add in this distressing day of our overthrow, so I commit

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<sup>s</sup> Thomas' Hist. of Printing, vol. i. p. 292.

*your honour to the Lord, and rest, your honour's  
to serve you in Jesus Christ,*

JOHN ELIOT.<sup>h</sup>

In 1687, the work of converting the Indians appears to have been in a flourishing state, though Mr Eliot, who was now in his eighty-third or eighty-fourth year, was so weakened with his old age, and his labours among them, that he was unable to preach to them oftener than once in two months. "The pastor of the church of Natick now is an Indian," observes Dr Mather, in a letter addressed to Dr Leusden, professor of Hebrew in the University of Utrecht, "and his name is Daniel. Besides this church at Natick, among our inhabitants in the Massachusetts colony, there are four Indian assemblies, where the name of the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon: these assemblies have some American preachers.

"There is another church, consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town called Mashippaug;\* the first pastor of which was an Englishman, who being skilled in the American language, preached

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<sup>h</sup> Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. ccxiii. \* Or Mashpee.

the gospel to them in their own tongue. This English pastor is dead, and instead of him that church has an Indian pastor.

“ There are, besides that, five assemblies of Indians professing the name of Christ, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian preachers. John Cotton preaches, in their own language, to the last five mentioned congregations every week. Moreover, of the inhabitants of Saxonet, in Plymouth colony, there is a great congregation of those who for distinction sake are called, “ Praying Indians,” because they pray to God in Christ.

“ Not far from a promontory called Cape Cod, there are six assemblies of heathens, who are to be reckoned as catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian preachers. Samuel Treat, pastor of a church at Eastham, preacheth to those congregations in their own language.\* There are likewise among the islanders of Nantucket, a church with a pastor, who was lately an heathen, and several meetings of catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians. There is

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\* One of Mr Treat's letters, containing a brief view of his labours and success, is inserted in the Appendix (M).



also another island, about seven leagues long called Martha's Vineyard, where are two American churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian, as pastor, called Hiacoomes : Jol Hiacoomes, son of the said Indian pastor, also preacheth the gospel to his countrymen. In another church in that place, John Tockinosh, a converted Indian, teaches. In these churches ruling elders of the Indians are joined to the pastors. All the congregations of the converted Indians both the catechumens and those in church-order every Lord's day meet together. The pastor preacher always begins with prayer. When the ruler of the assembly has ended prayer, the whole congregation of Indians praise God with singing, some of them are excellent singers. After the psalm, he that preaches reads a place of Scripture one or more verses as he will, and expounds gathers doctrines from it, proves them by Scripture and reason, and infers uses from them in the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught. Then another prayer to God, in the name of Christ, concludes the whole service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's day. They observe no holidays but the Lord's

day, except upon some extraordinary occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole days, either in giving thanks, or fasting and praying with great fervour of mind.

“ Before the English came into these coasts, these barbarous nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their prayers and sermons they use English words and terms; he that calls upon the most holy name of God, says Jehovah, or God, or Lord; and also they have learned and borrowed many other theological phrases from us.

“ In short, there are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are four and twenty who are preachers of the word of God; and besides these there are four English ministers, who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue. I am now myself weary with writing, and I fear lest if I should add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one thing I must add, which I had almost forgot, that there are many of the Indians' children who have learned by heart the catechism, either of that famous divine, William Perkins, or that put forth by the assembly of divines at Westminster; and

in their own mother tongue can answer questions in it. <sup>1</sup>\*

In 1688, Mr Eliot concluded his conference with Mr Boyle by the following which, while it directs our attention to a noble part of his labours in translating us into the Indian language, breathes the warmest desire for the improvement of his children, and the progress of the work he had so long engaged, which characterises his earlier years.

*ROXBURY, July*

*Right Honourable, deep learned, abundantly  
and constant nursing father,*

“SIR,—I am drawing home, and am in want of opportunity of taking leave of your honour with all thankfulness. Mr John Cotton helped

<sup>1</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 194, 195.

\* This letter excited great interest on the continent of Europe, and was translated into four or five languages. The celebrated Jurieu, who introduced it into one of his pastoral addresses, observes respecting it, “Cette Lettre doit opporter une tres grande attention, a toutes les bonnes ames, qui sont alterees, et qui sont enflamees du zele de la Dieu.”—*Mather, b. iii. p. 193.*

in the second edition of the Bible. I must commit to him the care and labour of the revisal of two other small treatises, viz. Mr Shepard's Sincere Convert and Sound Believer, which I translated into the Indian language many years since; and now I hope that the honourable corporation will be at the charge to print them, by your honour's favour and countenance. But I cannot commit them to press without a careful revisal, which none but Mr Cotton is able to help me to perform.\*

The work, in general, seemeth to my soul to be in and well toward a reviving. Many churches of confessors of Christ are in motions to gather into church estates, who do carefully keep the Sabbath. And out of these professors of religion, we do gather up and call in such as are willing to confess Jesus Christ, and seek salvation by him Touching other matters, what our losses and changes be, and how trading, &c. are spoiled, I

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\* About a year after the date of this letter, the translation of Shepard's Sincere Convert was printed. It consisted of 164 pages *duodecimo*. The following is its title:—Sampwutteahae Quinnuppekompaaenin, Wahuwoomook oggussemesuog Sampwutteabae Wunnamp-tamwaeuog, &c. Noh asoowesit Thomas Shepard."—*Thomas' History of Printing in America*, vol. i. p. 263.

am silent ; but my prayer to God is, *Isaiah, i. 25, 26.* " And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin : and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning," &c. So do, O Lord.

" Sir, the Lord prolong your days, and fill you with all grace, until you arrive at the fulness of glory, where I leave you, and rest,—Your honour's, to serve you in Jesus Christ,

JOHN ELIOT.

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\* Boyle's Works, vol. i. p. ccxiii. ccxiv.

## CHAPTER X.

**Eliot's last efforts for the advancement of the cause of Christ—His last illness and death—His death greatly lamented by Christians in America—His character as a Christian—Notices of some of his publications—Account of his family—His character as a Missionary—Statement respecting the success of his labours, his co-adjutors, and the conversion of the Indians among whom they laboured.**

Mr ELIOT “brought forth fruit in his old age;” and “when he began to draw near his end, he grew more heavenly and more divine.”

Deeply convinced of the inexpediency of holding an office, the duties of which he was unable satisfactorily to perform, he wished to resign his charge as pastor of the church of Roxbury, when he conceived that he had not strength to edify his congregation. With this view, he fervently prayed that the Lord of the harvest might provide a faithful successor, and importuned his people, with some impatience, to invite another minister. Sometimes, indeed, he would call the inhabitants of the

town together, with the purpose of leading them to join with him in a fast for the blessing of Christian instruction. " 'Tis possible," he said, when addressing them on this subject, " you may think the burden of maintaining two ministers may be too heavy for you, but I deliver you from that fear. I do here give back my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ ; and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God shall make a pastor for you." His church, to their immortal honour, assured him, that they would count his very presence among them worth a salary, when he should be altogether unable to do them any further service.

Mr Nehemiah Walter, a graduate of Harvard College, and a person young in years, but old in discretion, gravity, and experience, having been unanimously chosen as pastor of the church at Roxbury found the venerable evangelist disposed to embrace and cherish him with the tender affection of a father. The good old man disrobed himself with unspeakable satisfaction, and gave his garments to his successor ; and, for a year or two before death, he could scarcely be persuaded to perform any public service. He alleged that it would do " wrong to the souls of the people, for to do any thing among them, when they

supplied so much to their advantage otherwise." On occasion of a public fast, when Dr Mather supposes he delivered his last discourse, he gave a distinct and useful exposition of the eighty-third Psalm, and concluded with an apology to his hearers, begging them "to pardon the poorness and meanness, and brokenness of his meditations," and adding, "My dear brother, here, will by and by mend all."

When compelled by his age and infirmities to abandon his ministrations in the church, he would say, in a tone peculiar to himself, "I wonder for what the Lord Jesus lets me live,—he knows that now I can do nothing for him." While the humility of his heart, however, gave utterance to this sentiment, he did not abandon himself to inactivity. Though he conceived that the English could not be benefited by any gifts which he possessed, he hoped that the poor negroes, with whose deplorable condition he had long deeply commiserated, might receive some profit from his feeble instructions. He requested, therefore, that they might be sent to him once a-week, at the time and place most convenient for him, in order that he might catechize them, and do the utmost in his power to enlighten them, concerning the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. He



did not, however, make much progress in this very laudable undertaking.

When he was able to do little without doors, he tried to do something within. A young boy in the neighbourhood, had in his infancy fallen into a fire, and burned his face so dreadfully, as that he became perfectly blind. The zealous minister, therefore, took him home to his house, with the intention of making him a scholar, and instructed him with such diligence, that in a short time he could repeat many chapters of the Bible *verbatim*, and translate an ordinary piece of Latin with considerable ease.

“ When he was making his retreat out of this evil world, he discoursed from time to time on the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. For this he prayed, and for this he longed.” When he heard any bad news, his usual reflection was, “ Behold some of the clouds in which we must look for the coming of the Son of Man.” “ He once had a pleasant fear,” says Dr Mather, “ that the old saints of his acquaintance, especially those two dearest neighbours of his, Cotton of Boston, and Mather of Dorchester, who were got safe to heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way, because he staid so long behind them ;” but he often cheerfully said, that “ he was

shortly going to heaven, and that he would carry a good deal of news thither with him ; that he would carry tidings to the old founders of New-England, who were now in glory ; that he would inform them that church-work was yet carried on among us ; and that the numbers of the churches were continually increasing, by the daily additions of those that shall be saved."

The last object of his care from which he withdrew his attention, was the welfare of all the churches of New-England, about which he had long been solicitous. When they were placed in a very uncomfortable situation, on account of the advantages which some individuals, who sought their ruin, had obtained against them, Dr Increase Mather resolved to set out on a voyage to Britain, that, by his entreaties at Whitehall, he might divert the impending storms. On this occasion, the soul of the aged Eliot was excited to prayer and thankfulness ; and " his shaking hand, that had heretofore, by writing, deserved so well from the church of God, but was now taking its leave of writing for ever," addressed to him the following encouraging lines :—

*" Reverend and Beloved Mr Increase Mather,*

*" I cannot write. Read Neh. ii. 10. ' When*

Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobijah the servant, the Ammonite heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel.'

"Let thy blessed soul feed full and fat upon this and other Scriptures. All other things I leave to other men, and rest,—Your loving brother,

JOHN ELIOT."

Having been attacked with a considerable degree of fever, he rapidly sunk under his disorder. While he lay in the extremity of his sufferings, seeing Mr Walter come to him, and fearing that by petitioning for his life he might detain him in the vale of tears, he said, "Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul. Pray retire to thy study for me, and give me leave to be gone." Having been asked how he did, he answered, "Alas! I have lost every thing; my understanding leaves me,—my memory fails me,—my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still:—I find that rather grows than fails." When speaking about the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, he remarked, "There is a cloud, a dark cloud, upon the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant that it

may live when I am dead. It is a work which I have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recal that word, *my doings!* Alas! they have been poor and small, and lean doings; and I'll be the man that shall throw the first stone at them all." He used many similar extraordinary and precious expressions in his dying moments. Among the last words he uttered were, "WELCOME JOY;" and his voice for ever failed him in this world, while he repeated, "PRAY, PRAY, PRAY." He departed from this life in the beginning of 1690, and in the eighty-sixth year of his age.\*

Mr Eliot's death produced a powerful impression in New-England; "and devout men made great lamentation over him." "Bereaved New-England," says Dr Mather, "where are thy tears at this ill-boding funeral? We had a tradition current among us, that the country would never perish as long as Mr Eliot was alive! But into whose hands must this Hippo fall, now that the Austin of it is gone? Our Elisha is gone, and who must next year invade the land? I am sure that it is a dismal eclipse that has now befallen

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\* Mather, b. iii. p. 173, 180, 181, 207, 208, 260; b. iv. p. 138.

our New-English world. If the dust of dead saints could give us any protection, we are not without it. We cannot see a more terrible prognostic, than tombs filling apace with such bones as the renowned Eliot's: the whole building trembles at the fall of such a pillar. We hope that all true Protestants will count it no more than what is equal and proper, that the land which has in it the grave of such a remarkable preacher to the Indians, as our ELIOT, should be treated with such a love, as a Jerusalem uses to find from them that are to prosper." <sup>b</sup>

The great grief which was manifested on the death of Mr Eliot, had its origin in the excellence of his character, and the eminent usefulness of his labours. The preceding narrative, it is hoped, will, in a considerable degree, have illustrated these subjects; but there are several facts respecting them, which, though not connected with the particular incidents of his life which we have recorded, are too valuable to be overlooked.

Mr Eliot was a Christian of the highest order; and, throughout the course of his long life, he enjoyed in large abundance the unspeakable consolations of the gospel. Dr Mather remarks, that

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<sup>b</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 171, 208.

“ he walked in the light of God’s countenance all the day long;” that “ he had a continual assurance of the divine love, marvellously sealing, strengthening, and refreshing him for many lustres of years before he died, and that “ his conversation was in heaven.”\* In these circumstances, it is to be naturally expected, that he highly valued, and diligently improved, the means of grace. He made the Bible his companion and his counsellor; and he viewed it as his necessary food. He delighted to pour out his soul in supplication to the Father of mercies. “ He was indeed a man of prayer,” remarks Dr Mather, “ and might say after the Psalmist, I Prayer as being in a manner made up of it. Could the walls of his old study speak, they would even ravish us with the relation of the many hundred and thousand prayers, which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily practice to enter into that closet, and shut his door, and to pray to his Father in secret, but he would not rarely set apart whole days for prayer, with fasting, before the God of heaven. Prayer, solemnized with fasting, was indeed so agreeable to him, that I have sometimes

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\* Mr Eliot’s paraphrase on *our conversation is in Heaven* is inserted in the Appendix (N.)

thought he might inherit the name of *Jejunator*, or John the FASTER. When any remarkable difficulty before him, he way to encounter and overcome it; bei Prosen's mind, that when we would great things to be accomplished, the best way to work by an engine which the world has never known. He could say as the pious man did upon his death-bed, "I thank God for my prayer with all my heart. If I had known what that sacred thing, the prayer intends, in him there might have been a most facile and practical experiment. He kept his heart in a frame for prayer with a marvellous constancy, and was continuing all that were about him thereunto he heard any considerable news, his usual saying was, "Brethren, let us turn all prayer." He commonly used his endeavours and his Christian friends to engage in prayer at private meetings, and in the church when he came into a house with which intimately acquainted, he was accustomed to say, "Come, let us not have a visit without prayer; let us pray down the blessing of heaven upon our family before we go." His delight in prayer was no less remarkable than his delight in

He diligently prepared himself for its sacred exercises ; and it was observed concerning him, that he might have been seen in the spirit every week. Every day, indeed, was a kind of Sabbath to him ; but the Lord's day was viewed and enjoyed by him as a foretaste of heaven. His desire was, that it should be spent agreeably to the purpose of its institution ; and that he should entertain no thoughts,—speak no words,—and perform no actions, which were opposed to its holy services. When he beheld any person guilty of a profanation of it, he uniformly expressed his decided disapprobation of such conduct.<sup>c</sup>

The effect of this close walk with God was apparent in his life. He reckoned the honours and pleasures of the world as the small dust of the balance, and he viewed them with the sentiments and feelings of a dying man. “ Study mortification, study mortification,” was his address to the ministers in whom he observed any inclination to depart from the exercise of self-denial ; and his whole conduct was a comment on this precept. He was extremely temperate in the enjoyment of the good things of this life ; and it was said, that “ it was in a manner all one with him to be rich

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<sup>c</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 176, 176, 178.



or poor." His food was of the most simple kind; and his apparel without any ornament. "Had you seen him with his leathern girdle about his loins, for such an one he wore," says Dr Mather, "you would have thought what Herod feared, that John the Baptist was come to life again."

He so diligently laboured to promote the improvement of the individuals with whom he associated, and he so habitually and judiciously endeavoured to direct their attention to important subjects, that more than one of his friends, said, "I was never with him but I got, or might have got, some good from him." Alike removed from levity and moroseness, he maintained a cheerful and grave deportment in his intercourse with his fellow-creatures. He knew that he was in the presence of his God, and he endeavoured to regulate his speech as one who expected to be engaged in celebrating the praises of redeeming grace in the regions of glory.

He was a man of peace, and he greatly abhorred every species of contention. His general kindness procured and supported the friendship of his acquaintances, and rendered him the object of their most tender and affectionate regards. His enemies were few, and he endeavoured, not without success, to overcome their evil with good.

Having used some expressions in his sermons which proved offensive to one of his hearers, he found himself violently abused for his fidelity. Unmindful of this circumstance, however, he sent Mrs Eliot to cure him of a dangerous wound, and treated him with such affection as completely disarmed the hostility of his mind. "No man," it was said, "could entertain persons of a persuasion different from his own, with more kindness than he, when he saw *aliquid Christi*, or the fear of God, prevailing in them. While he proved a *hammer* to their errors, he dealt with them as a friend. Wherever he came, he acted like the apostle John, in solemnly and earnestly persuading to love, and delivering the charge, 'My children love one another.'"<sup>d</sup>

In the prosecution of his studies, he was remarkably diligent. When we consider the extent of his public labours, this circumstance may appear incredible. He knew, however, the value of time, and he was careful to redeem it. He allowed himself but little sleep; and his advice to students was, "I pray, look to it, that ye be morning birds." For more than twenty years before his death, he slept in his studying-room, that,

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<sup>d</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 181, 182, 187.

being there alone, he might enjoy his early mornings, without giving the smallest disturbance to his friends, who, in the exercise of their affection for him, might say, "Master, spare thyself." The publications which he prepared for the Indians, for the congregation of Roxbury, and for his brethren in the ministry, which we have already noticed, must have been the fruit of great labour. They were not the only proofs, however, of the extent of his affection for the church of Christ. He published several English books before his death; among which were, "the Harmony of the Gospels in the Holy History of Jesus Christ," and a reply to Norcott's Treatise against Pedo-baptism. Dr Mather informs us, that the former of these works was "serious and savoury," and that the author's heart was much in it; and that the latter was written with great love for "those who cannot speak for themselves." Mr Eliot was one of the three divines who were employed in preparing the first edition of the New-England poetical version of the book of Psalms; but, like his pious co-adjutors, he overlooked the harmony of his verses, in his anxiety to adhere to the literal meaning of the Hebrew.<sup>e</sup>

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<sup>e</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 179, 207, 186, 187, 180. Neal's

Mr Eliot was remarkably blessed by God in his family concerns ; and this was to be expected from the manner in which they were managed. Such was the love and affection which subsisted between him and his wife, and so orderly was their walk and conversation, that they were commonly called Zacharias and Elizabeth. Mrs Eliot lived till about three or four years before her husband's death, and was a woman very eminent for her holiness and prudence. She proved highly useful, not only to her family, but to her neighbourhood. She had attained considerable skill in physic and surgery, and she dispensed many medicines among the poor who had occasion for them. When she died, her aged husband, who very rarely wept, stood with tears over her coffin, before a large company of people who attended her funeral, and said, " Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife ; I shall go to her, and she not return to me."

Mr Eliot's first child was a daughter, born on the 17th September, 1633. She was alive at the close of the seventeenth century, and was highly esteemed for her piety and gravity. His eldest

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Hist. of New-England, vol. i. p. 188. Thomas' Hist. of Printing in America, vol. i. p. 490.

son, John, has already been noticed as a zealous preacher among the Indians. His second son, Joseph, was born on the 20th December, 1638; obtained his degree of Master of Arts in 1658; became pastor of a church at Gilford, and occasionally instructed the heathen; and was inferior to few of the ministers of his day. His third son, Samuel, was born on the 22d June, 1641; obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and became a Fellow of Harvard College, in 1660; was reckoned a most lovely young man, and eminent for his piety, learning, and talents; and died soon after he left the University. Major Gookin says he was a person of whom the world was not worthy. His fourth son, Aaron, was born on the 19th February, 1643, and died while very young; but "manifested many good things toward the Lord God of Israel." His fifth son, Benjamin, was born on the 29th January, 1645; completed his education, and obtained the degree of Master of Arts at Harvard College, in 1665; and resided with his parents, though invited by several congregations to receive their pastoral charge, till 1674, when, after the death of Mr Danforth, he became colleague to his father, and obtained great respect for his filial affection, his devotedness to the interests of souls, and his excellent talents.

Mr Eliot consecrated all his sons to the service of Christ in the ministry of the gospel ; but his wishes were not completely realized. All his children, however, gave such proofs of their conversion, that the good old man would sometimes comfortably say, " I have had six children, and I bless God for his free grace, they are all either with Christ, or in Christ, and my mind is now at rest concerning them." When asked how he could bear the death of such excellent children as he had educated, he humbly replied, " My desire was, that they should have served God on earth ; but if God will choose to have them serve him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it, his will be done."

The grace which Mr Eliot experienced with regard to his offspring, forms an illustration of the words of Solomon :—" Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." His fatherly care, indeed, was of the most praise-worthy nature. He laboured diligently to enlighten the understandings, and to improve the hearts of his daughter and sons. He was accustomed to watch over their conduct with the greatest tenderness ; and he tolerated no extravagancies in their dress or mode of living. With the view of leading them to the early use

of their mental faculties, he regularly asked them to make a few observations on the passages of Scripture which were read at family worship. "By this method," it was observed, "he did mightily sharpen and improve, as well as try their understandings, and endeavour to make them wise unto salvation." <sup>f</sup>

In proceeding to consider Mr Eliot's character as a missionary, we feel that it is difficult to estimate it too highly, and that he well merited the appellation of the APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS, which has been conferred on him by the unanimous voice of the Protestant church.

The principles by which he was actuated, when he proposed to engage in the instruction of the Indians, were pure and noble. He was zealous for the honour of God, and animated by gratitude for the grace which he had experienced when called from darkness unto light. He experimentally knew the value of the gospel; and, deeply impressed by the realities of eternity, he was ardently desirous of witnessing the salvation of sinners. Conscious of his own weakness, and

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<sup>f</sup> Mather, b. iii. p. 173, 181, 185; b. iv. p. 137. Gookin's Hist. Coll. in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 170, 171.

insufficiency, and unworthiness to be engaged in the cause of Christ, he was disposed to exercise an humble reliance on the Holy Spirit, and fervently and habitually to pray that his gracious influences might accompany the preaching of the word. "Meditations upon Scripture grounds," he remarked, "minister comfort and encouragement to my heart,—and this I desire to do to look unto Scripture grounds only." He knew, indeed, of no sources of happiness, except in the advancement of his personal holiness, and in usefulness to his fellow-creatures; and, when few earthly considerations appeared to be favourable to his views, he resolved, in the spirit of faith and love, to devote himself to the great work of instructing the heathen, and to humble himself, that he might exalt the most degraded sons of Adam.

His qualifications for the work in which he sought to be engaged, were of no ordinary kind. Both in an intellectual, and in a moral point of view, he appeared to be an individual raised up by divine providence for eminent usefulness in the church. Possessed of great energy of mind, and soundness of judgment, he was enabled quickly to discover the truth; and, animated by strong benevolence,—habitually exhibiting the kindest affection,—and enjoying a wonderful felicity of ex-



pression, and an intimate acquaintance with human nature, he was peculiarly fitted to communicate knowledge in a manner calculated to move the heart.

His labours among the Indians prove that this is no vain speculation. He addressed them with all the earnestness and affection, which his views of their condition in the sight of God, and the marvellous love of the Saviour, were fitted to produce. While he spared no thought for the accomplishment of the objects which he had in view, he adopted no circuitous mode of instruction; but, with plainness and simplicity, preached the truth as it is in Jesus, and made the most powerful appeals to their consciences and hearts. In charging them with guilt in the sight of the Creator,—in unfolding to them the grace of the Saviour,—and in exhorting them to repent and to turn unto God, he displayed all the ardour of his soul, and arrested their attention by his fervent, but mild, simple, and conciliatory addresses. He surmounted the most serious obstacles by his diligence,—persevered amidst much opposition,—and waxed strong in the faith, when many would have relinquished their efforts, and abandoned themselves to despair. Acting in this manner, he adopted no measures at the expence of prudence

zeal was ardent, but it was directed by an enlarged understanding, and combined with reason and Christian circumspection. He studied the workings of providence, in his application of general principles of action unfolded in the world. Successful in the formation of excellent laws, and diligent and active in their prosecution, he depended not in his own resources, but in every thing with prayer and supplication, he made known his requests unto God. The success which he experienced was not permitted to nourish his natural pride; and, instead of destroying his usefulness and diligence, as it often does in the ordinary experience of Christians, it served only to increase his holy jealousy, and to lead him to multiply his labours. While his name was treated with the highest respect in Europe and America, while the greatest philanthropists of his day admired his devotedness, he humbly and sincerely ascribed himself, "one of the least of the labourers in the Lord's vineyard."

His treatment of the converts was that of an affectionate parent, and enlightened friend. His exertions for their improvement almost consumed him; he was busy in erecting and supporting schools,—in translating the Scriptures, and other useful books, and in establishing civil government among them,

and securing permanent settlements,—in leading them to exercise industry,—in protecting their property, and their lives,—and in supplying all their wants,—he shewed that he was “ affectionately desirous of them,” and “ willing to have imparted to them, not the gospel of God only, but also his own soul, because they were dear to him.” He cheerfully denied himself to every unnecessary comfort, to shew that he had no sources of enjoyment from which they were debarred ; and while he shuddered to make any compliances which might confirm them in their errors, or retard their improvement in civilization, he was careful to exhibit no refinement, which, instead of leading to imitation, could only dazzle their minds, or alienate their affections. “ I see the Lord delighteth to appear himself in the work,” he observed, “ and will have us content ourselves with little, low, poor things, that all the power and praise may be given to his great name.” His flock were “ witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblameably, he behaved himself among them ;” and while he delighted to spend, and to be spent in their service, they were his “ hope, his joy, his crown of rejoicing.”

It is difficult to form a correct estimate respect-

ing Mr Eliot's success as a missionary. His labours, both directly and indirectly, contributed greatly to extend the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. There is reason to believe, that, through his immediate instrumentality, several hundred Indians were raised from a state of degradation to a state of respectability ; and, what is of infinitely greater consequence, from a state of condemnation to a state of glory. His usefulness, however, is not to be viewed merely in reference to his personal exertions. He was honoured to be the means of leading most of the American missionaries of the seventeenth century to extend their benevolent efforts to the poor Pagans. All the ministers, indeed, to whom we have referred, as directing their attention to the Indians, acknowledged their obligations to him, looked to him as a father, and delighted to receive his counsel and encouragement. Some of these individuals died before him ; but, before his removal, he had the pleasure of seeing other servants of the Lord, such as the Rev. Daniel Gookin, James Noyce, Rowland Cotton, Peter Thatcher, Grindal Rawson, Goddefred Dellius, and ——— Bondet,\* rise

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\* Notices of some of these ministers, and extracts from their letters respecting the Indians under their care, in 1693, are inserted in the Appendix (O).

up to supply their place, and to enter on the culture of a field which yielded an abundant harvest. "Through the blessing of God," remarked Dr Mather, in a sermon preached near the conclusion of the seventeenth century, "in this one Massachusetts province, the Indians have mostly embraced the Christian religion. There are, I suppose, more than thirty congregations of Indians, and many more than three thousand Indians, in this one province, calling on God in Christ, and hearing of his glorious word."<sup>e</sup>

Mr Eliot, in his dying moments, declared that he saw a dark cloud on the work of the Lord among the Indians; and it is much to be lamented, that the zeal, with which the efforts for their evangelization had been conducted during his life, greatly diminished after his death. The mortality of the Indians, the encroachments of the English upon their settlements, and several other circumstances of a painful nature, brought the missionary ardour to a severe trial; and though, when viewed under an enlightened Christian benevolence, they ought only to have led to more strenuous efforts, they were permitted to exercise an unfavourable

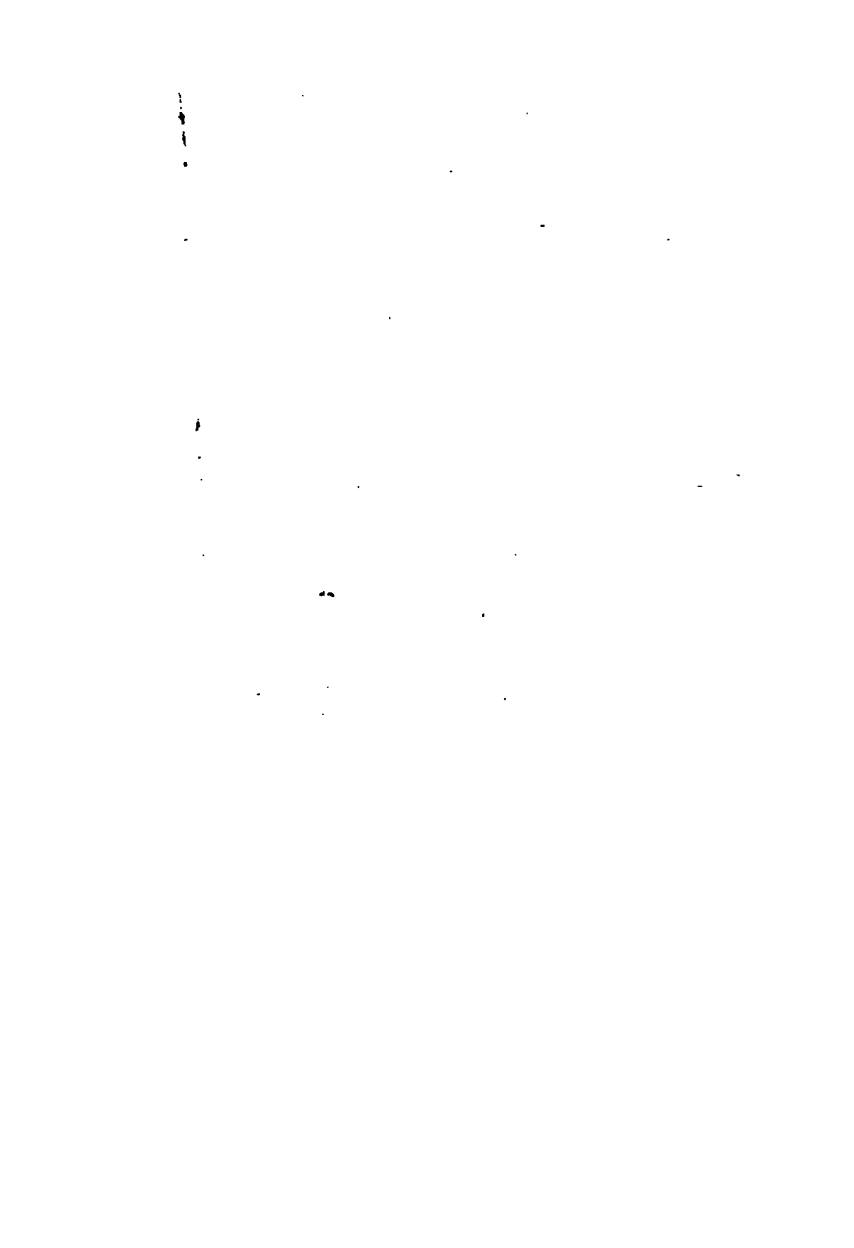
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<sup>e</sup> Mather's Sermon, *apud* Magnalia, b. vii. p. 110, 111.

influence.<sup>f</sup> It is a subject of gratitude, however, that the work of converting the Indians has never altogether been abandoned, nor carried on without success; and that, though there are now scarcely any remains of the powerful tribes among whom the first missionaries laboured, the Christians of New-England are at present acting with energy among the heathen in the western forests.

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<sup>f</sup> Attestation, *apud* Mayhew's Indian Converts.



## APPENDIX.



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(A) p. 29. *Notice respecting the Rev. Roger Williams.*

IN 1643, Mr Williams published a small work, entitled, "Key into the Language of America," in which he gives the following account of his labours among the Indians: "Out of a desire to attain their language, I have run through varieties of intercourses with them, day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea. Many solemn discourses I have had with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of this country to another.—I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of many of them. I know their many solemn confessions to myself, and one to another, of their lost wandering conditions. I know strong convictions upon the consciences of many of them, and their desires uttered that way.—Two days before the death of Wequash, the Pequot Indian, as I passed up to Quunihicut (Connecti-

cut) river, it pleased my worthy friend, Mr Fenwick, whom I visited at his house at Say-brook fort, at the mouth of that river, to tell me that my old friend Wequash lay very sick. I desired to see him, and himself was pleased to be my guide two miles, where Wequash lay. Amongst other discourse, concerning his sickness and death, in which he freely bequeathed his son to Mr Fenwick, I closed with him concerning his soul. He told me, that some two or three years before, he had lodged at my house, where I acquainted him with the condition of all mankind, and his own in particular; how God created man and all things; how man fell from God, and his present enmity against God, and the wrath of God against him, until repentance: said he, 'your words were never out of my heart to this present;' and said he, 'Me much pray to Jesus Christ.' I told him so did many English, French, and Dutch, who had never turned to God, nor loved him. He replied in broken English, 'Me so big naughty heart; me heart all one stone!'—Savoury expressions, using to breathe from compact and broken hearts, and a sense of inward hardness and unbrokenness. I had many discourses with him in his life, but this was the sum of our last parting, until our general meeting."

Had Mr Williams continued to persevere in instructing the Indians, there is reason to believe that he would have proved a successful teacher. Unhappily for himself, however, and the cause in which he engaged, he adopted some fanatical opinions, which led him to abandon his exertions. He conceived that the gift of speaking with tongues had only ceased through the weakness of the faith of professing Christians; and, in opposition to the testimony of his own senses, he imagined that he could not with any propriety preach the gospel to the Indians without immediate inspiration.—*Key into the Language of America*, in *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. iii. p. 206, 207.* *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 210.* *Little Foxes*, apud *Mather*, b. vii. p. 9.

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(B) p. 29. *Account of the Missionary Labours of the Rev. Thomas Mayhew.*

Mr THOMAS MAYHEW, sen. a merchant from Southampton, came to Massachusetts about the commencement of the colony. He followed his

business for some time after his arrival in America ; but, meeting with disappointments, he purchased a farm at Watertown, and applied himself to husbandry. In 1641, he obtained a grant, or patent, of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles ; and, in the following year, he placed his son Thomas, with a few English people, in Martha's Vineyard, intending in a short time to follow them, with the view of becoming their governor.

Mr Thomas Mayhew, jun. being a young man of excellent talents, liberal education, and exalted piety, was soon invited by the settlers to become their minister. Having devoted himself to their service in the gospel, he conceived that his sphere of usefulness was too limited ; and, in the exercise of compassion for the wretched Pagans with whom he was surrounded, he began to cultivate acquaintance with them, to endeavour to acquire their language, and to communicate instruction to them.

Having encouraged the frequent visits to his house, of a young man named Hiacoomes, he soon had the pleasure of seeing that his kind services were not altogether lost. This individual, indeed, gave evidence, in 1643, that divine truth was producing a salutary change on his mind. When he was very rudely and cruelly treated by

a haughty Sagamore, on account of his intimacy with the English, he behaved in a most Christian manner. "I had one hand for injuries," he remarked, when relating the circumstance, "and the other for God; while I received wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God." He gave several similar proofs of wonderful composure when enduring the reproaches of his countrymen.

Mr Mayhew, observing these hopeful symptoms in Hiacoomes, employed him as an instrument to prepare his way to the rest of the natives, instructed him further in the Christian religion, and furnished him with answers to the objections which might be brought against its principles.

In 1644, Mr Mayhew began to labour more publicly among the Indians. He went from house to house, and discoursed with as many persons as were willing to hold intercourse with him. Nothing of particular interest, however, occurred to him in the prosecution of his labours, till two years after this period, when Hiacoomes made a deep impression on the minds of some of his countrymen. Having escaped a particular disorder, which spread over the whole island, this young professor was sent for by his chief, who appeared anxious to know the reason of his exemp-

tion. He embraced the opportunity afforded him t  
this circumstance, of informing his friends of th  
change which had taken place in his religious view  
and of recommending to them the grace of Jesu  
Mr Mayhew, in consequence of this circumstanc  
was invited by Towanquatick, the chief, to i  
struct him and his people, and to establish a reg  
lar meeting among them. He was told, that h  
“ should be to them as one that stands by a ru  
ning river, filling many vessels;” and he was s  
encouraged that he agreed to preach to them onc  
in the fortnight.

These circumstances were very favourable t  
Mr Mayhew; but, he soon experienced man  
difficulties in the prosecution of his labours. T  
wanquatick, by the countenance which he affords  
to the preaching of the gospel, aroused the jea  
lousy of the neighbouring Sagamores; and, on o  
occasion, he was severely wounded by them  
When visited by his teacher, however, he w  
enabled, instead of complaining, to praise Go  
that he had escaped with his life.

At a meeting of the Indians, held in 1644, th  
power of the Powaws having been called in que  
tion, numerous accounts were delivered of th  
influence which they had exerted, both in killin  
and curing men. Hiacoomes declared, howeve

when he heard it asserted that there were none present who did not fear them, that " he did believe in God, and trust in him ; and therefore all the Powaws in the country could do him no harm ; he feared them not." This bold declaration produced the happiest effects ; and, before the meeting broke up, twenty-two individuals expressed their desire to abandon their sins, to walk with God, and to observe his ordinances.

After this event, the cause of Christianity seemed to gain ground in the island. Mr Mayhew, in 1650, enumerates several gratifying circumstances, as proofs of the success, which, under the divine blessing, had accompanied his labours. " One of the meeting Indians said, and I hope feelingly," he remarked, " that if all the world,—the riches, plenty, and pleasures of it, were presented without God, or God without all these, I would take God. Another said, that if the greatest Sagamore in the land should take him in his arms, and proffer him his love, and riches, and gifts, to turn from his way, he would not go with him from this way of God. I heard one of them of his own accord, unto the same purpose, in complaining against head knowledge, and lip prayers, without heart holiness, loathing the condition of such a man, saying, I desire my heart may taste



the word of God, repent of my sins, and lean upon the redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ. Some of them having a discourse with Vzzamaquin, a great Sachem or governor on the main-land, coming among them, about the ways of God, he inquired what earthly good things came along with them, and demanding of them what they had gotten by all that they had done this way: one of them replied, We serve not God for clothing, nor for any outward thing. I have observed many such like passages, but my occasions at present will not permit me to set them down, I only bring you these things which are most ready in my mind."

While these pleasing instances of success delighted the heart of Mr Mayhew, he had the joy of beholding two of the Powaws abandon the delusions to which they had been devoted, profess their faith in Jesus Christ, and exert their powerful influence for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. He had also the happiness, of seeing that the conversion of these individuals greatly strengthened the hearts of their countrymen. Shortly after the change which had taken place in their views became known, about fifty persons confessed their sins, lamented the depravity of their hearts, expressed their willingness to rely on

the righteousness of Jesus Christ, for acceptance before God, and desired to consecrate themselves and their children to the service of God.

Encouraged by these circumstances, Mr Mayhew prosecuted his labours with great ardour. He frequently lectured to the Indians, and instructed Hiacoomes every Saturday evening, in the doctrines which he wished him to state to them on the Lord's day. In a letter, dated 16th October, 1651, he was enabled to report a most agreeable progress in the work to which he was devoted. "And now, through the mercy of God," he writes, "there are a hundred and ninety-nine men, women, and children, that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever-living God. There are now two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off from my house. Hiacoomes teacheth twice a-day at the nearest, and Mumanequem accordingly at the farthest."

About the conclusion of 1651, Mr Mayhew instituted a school for teaching the natives to read; and, in the spring of the following year, the Indians, of their own accord, solicited him to establish a Christian form of government among themselves. With their request he readily complied; and, after a day of fasting and prayer, they

gave their assent to a covenant which he had drawn up for them, and bound themselves to fear God and observe his ordinances. " There were divers English both eye and ear witnesses hereof, remarks Mr Mayhew, " as well as myself, and we could not but acknowledge much of the Lord's power and goodness to be visible amongst them, who, without being driven by power, or allured by gifts, were so strongly carried against those ways they so much loved, to love the way that nature hates."

The profession of attachment to the cause of Christ, which was at this time made by the Indians, appears to have been of the most sincere nature, and highly favourable to the progress of the truth. We shall here insert a few extracts from one of Mr Mayhew's letters, dated the 22<sup>d</sup> October, 1652, as illustrative of this remark, and of the gracious effects which continued to attend his ministry.

" Within two or three weeks there came an Indian to me in business, and by the way he told me, that some Indians had lately kept a day of repentance, to humble themselves before God in prayer, and that the word of God which one of them spake unto, for their instruction, was Psal. lxxvi. 7. ' He ruleth by his power for ever, his eyes behold

the nations, let not the rebellious exalt themselves.' I asked them what their end was in keeping such a day? He told me these six things: *First*, They desired that God would slay the enmity of their hearts. *Secondly*, That they might love God and one another. *Thirdly*, That they might withstand the evil words and temptations of wicked men, and not be drawn back from God. *Fourthly*, That they might be obedient to the good words and commands of their rulers. *Fifthly*, That they might have their sins done away by the redemption of Jesus Christ. *And lastly*, That they might walk in Christ's way.

"We are, by the mercy of God, about to begin a town, that they may cohabit and carry on things in a civil and religious way the better. The praying Indians are constant attenders to the word of the Lord. About thirty Indian children are now at school.—They are apt to learn, and more are now sending in unto them. The barbarous Indians, both men and women, do often come on the lecture-days, and complaining of their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and refusing the helps and hopes of their own power, seek subjection to Jehovah, to be taught, governed, and saved by him, for Jesus Christ's sake.

"I observed that the Indians, when they chose

their rulers, made choice of such as were best approved for their godliness, and most likely to suppress sin, and encourage holiness; and since they have been forward on all occasions to shew their earnest desire thereof.—

“ I have also observed how God is pleased to uphold some of these poor Indians against opposition. I was once down towards the farther end of the island, and lodged at an Indian's house, who was accounted a great man among the islanders, being the friend of a great Sachem on the main; this Sachem is a great enemy to our reformation on the island. At this man's house, when I had sat a while, his son, being about thirty years old, earnestly desired me, in his language, to relate unto him some of the ancient stories of God. I then spent a great part of the night in such discourse as I thought fittest for them, as I usually do when I lodge in their houses. What he then heard did much affect him; and shortly after he came and desired to join with the praying Indians to serve Jehovah, but it was to the great discontent of the Sachems on the main, and those Indians about him. News were often brought to him that his life was laid in wait for, by those that would surely take it from him. They desired him, therefore, with speed to turn back again.

The man came to me once or twice, and I perceived that he was troubled. He asked my counsel about removing his habitation; yet told me, that if they should stand with a sharp weapon against his breast, and tell him that they would kill him presently, if he did not turn to them, but if he would, they would love him, yet he would rather lose his life than keep it on such terms; for, said he, When I look back on my life as it was before I did pray to God, I see it to be wholly nought, and do wholly dislike it, and hate those naughty ways; but, when I look on that way which God doth teach me in his word, I see it to be wholly good, and do wholly love it.

“ My father and I were lately talking with an Indian, who had not long before almost lost his life by a wound his enemies gave him almost in a secret way. This man, understanding of a secret plot that was to take away his enemies' life, told my father and me, that he did freely forgive him for the sake of God, and did tell this plot to us, that the man's life might be preserved. This is a singular thing, and who among the heathen will do so?

“ I observe also that the Indians themselves do endeavour to propagate the knowledge of God, to the glory of God and the good of others. I

heard an Indian, after I had some discourse with the Indians in the night, ask the Sachem many others together, how they did like counsel they heard together from the word of God? They answered, Very well. Then, he, why do you not take it? Why do you not according to it? He farther added, I can tell you why it is, Because you do not see your sins, and because you do love your sins; for as long as it was so with me, I did not care for the word of God; but when God did shew me my sins, and made me hate them, then I was glad to take God's counsel. This, I remember, he spake with gravity and truth, that the Sachem and all company was not able to gainsay.

“ Myoxo also lately met with an Indian who came from the main, who was of some name amongst them. I heard that he told them of great things of God, and of Christ Jesus,—of his sinfulness and the folly of the Indians,—the redemption of sin by Christ, and of a good life; and were they both affected, that they continued their discourse two half nights and a day, until their strength was spent. He told them, in particular how a believer did live above the world, that he did keep worldly things always at his feet, (and he shewed him by a sign) that when they

diminished or increased, it was neither the cause of sorrow or joy, that he should stoop to regard them, but he stood upright, with his heart heavenward, and his whole desire was after God, and his joy in him."

Mr Mayhew continued to labour among the Indians till the month of November, 1657, when, considering that there were "many hundred men and women added to the Christian society, of such as might truly be said to be holy in their conversation," he resolved to visit England, with the view of reporting the Lord's dealings with them and exciting an interest in their behalf. It was the Lord's will, however, that he should find a watery grave, the ship in which he sailed from America having been lost on the passage. Thus died one of the most affectionate, humble, and diligent ministers of the gospel, Mr Thomas Mayhew, jun. He had the cause of souls much at heart, and, while labouring for their salvation, he cheerfully wrought for a considerable time with his own hands, for the support of his family. "He was cheerful amidst his straits," says Mr Henry Whitfield, "none ever heard him complain. The truth is, he would not leave the work in which he was engaged; for, upon my knowledge, if he would, he might have had a more



competent and comfortable maintenance." He was so affectionately beloved by the Indians, that they could not bear his absence so far as Boston, before they longed for him. For many years after his death he was seldom named by them without tears and the place on the way-side, where he left the leave of his converts, was for all that generation remembered with sorrow. "The Lord has given us this amazing blow," said Mr Eliot, "to take away my brother Mayhew. His aged father did endeavour to uphold the work, whom, by letters we have endeavoured to encourage what I can." *Prince's Account of those English Ministers who presided at Martha's Vineyard, and Mayhew's Indian Converts*, p. 280—292. *Whitfield's Life* appearing more and more towards the perfect day p. 4—9, 12, 13. *Strength out of Weakness*, 28, 29, 31. *Mayhew's Letter*, and *Tears of Repentance*. *Cookin's Hist. Coll. in Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 201, 202, 205. New Hist. of New-England, vol. i. p. 244—249.*

(C) p. 124. *Substance of an exhortation delivered by an Indian, as related by Mr Eliot.*

“ His text was Matt. xiii. 44—6. ‘ Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hid in a field,’ &c.

“ The substance of these words he did twice rehearse. Then, for instruction, he *first* propounded what is this treasure which is hid in a field. He answered, It is repentance for sin, faith in Christ, and pardon of sin, and all grace ; as also praying to God, the worship of God, and his appointments, which are the means of grace : on which he dilated, shewing what excellent pearls these are, exhorting all to account so of them ; and on this point he did much insist. *Secondly*, he asked what is the field where these pearls are to be found. He answered, the church of Christ, which they did desire to constitute in this place. *Thirdly*, he asked what is it to sell all that a man hath to buy this field. He answered, to part with all their sins, and to part with all their old customs, and to part with their friends and lands, or any thing which hindereth them from coming to that place, when they may gather a church, and enjoy all these perils. Here he insisted much to stir

them up, that nothing should hinder them from gathering together into this place, where they might enjoy such a mercy.

“ Then he proceeded to the second parable. His *first* question was, who is the merchant-man that seeketh goodly pearls? He answered, It is all you Indians who pray to God, and repent of sin, and come to hear the word of God: you come to seek for excellent pearls. His *second* was, What is this pearl of great price? And in answer to this question, he did not pitch it on Christ alone, and shew the worth and price of Christ; but he did pitch it on faith in Jesus Christ, and repentance for sin, and stood upon the excellency and necessity thereof. And this was the greatest defect I observed in his exercise, which, seeing I undertake to relate that which none but myself understood, I dare not but truly relate, because the Lord heard all; and I must give an account of this relation before him. His *next* question was, what is meant by all the riches he had? He answered, His sins, his evil customs, his evil manners, in which he formerly took much pleasure; and here he dilated also. *Lastly*, He asked, how did he sell them all and buy the pearls? He answered, by casting away, and forsaking all his sins, mourning and repenting of them, praying to

God, and believing in Jesus Christ. Here he fervently dilated, and so ended. This, according to the best of my memory and observation, is the substance of what he delivered ; whereby you may observe the manner of my teaching them, for they imitate me. As for our method of preaching to the English, by way of doctrine, reason, and use, neither have I liberty of speech,—nor have they sufficient ability of understanding to profit by it, so well as by this way, whereof you have herein a little taste.”—*Strength out of Weakness*, p. 13, 14, 15.

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(D) p. 127. *Extract from a letter of the Rev. William Leverich, addressed to the Rev. John Wilson of Boston.*

“—God hath brought some of the Indians to a sense of their sins, and a fear of his justice.—One of them, being to repeat such principles as I had begun to train them in, was a good while before he could speak, having his countenance and before, (and as I have understood since, a week

together after our former exercise) and, in speaking, the tears all the while trickling down his cheeks. After being demanded by me what was the matter of his sadness, he answers me, he did now understand that God was a just God, and for himself he had been very wicked, even from a child. Another, whom I used as my interpreter now and then in teaching them, falls suddenly and publicly into a bitter passion, crying out and wringing his hands, out of the like apprehension of his condition, as he told me afterwards; and I find no one of them daring men, to speak of their good hearts, but some more, some less, of the contrary.—Two or three of them have complained of the hardness of their hearts, and are questioning of remedies. Speaking to them of the mercy of God in Christ, one of them tells publicly, it did him more good to hear of Christ, than to hear of all earthly good things. I would fain hope for seeds of faith in such.—A fourth encouragement to me is this,—I find the devil bestirring himself, and betaking of himself to his wonted practice of stirring up opposition against this work by his instruments, as fearing the ruin of his kingdom. Not long before I was last with you in the bay, upon a second day in the morning, before they went away, they came to me to

the number of twenty of them, voluntarily professing, one by one, their desire to fear God,—promising that they would leave their sins; hereunto calling Jehovah to witness, and this to do all their days as long as they live; some bringing their children, and causing them to make the like profession: whereupon I was the more stirred towards them in my spirit, to promise them I would endeavour to be as helpful to them as I could in teaching them, which, when I had done, they gave me thanks publicly. Since this, they living some seven miles from us, have built a wigwam of purpose, near our town, to receive them when they come on the Lord's days. And truly, Sir, they are so attentive in hearing, that it grieves me I cannot speak to them as I desire, they seeming to be hungry, and I wanting bread for them. And thus, Sir, you have a naked narration of our proceedings, with the events fallen out by God's providence within not many months. It is, I believe, a day of small things, and so looked at by our English, many of them who surely would have perished in their darkness, if all others should have contemned them as these. I pray God they perish not in the light. However I am resolved to babble to them as I may, considering that out of the mouths of babes God ordains praise, and

found strength to still the enemy, &c. The beginnings of God's great works are often in great obscurity, where he appoints the end to be glorious. Also, I remember, one sows and another reaps, which, wherever they be, such as are faithful shall rejoice to gather. I doubt not, Sir, of your fervent prayers, (which I do farther beg of you and others that know how to pity lost ones) for myself and poor Indians, that the Lord will prosper our endeavours this way, and water them with his abundant blessings in Jesus Christ, that the day-spring from on high may visit such poor souls as are in darkness and the shadow of death, and bring them to life in Jesus Christ.

WILLIAM LEVERICH.

SANDWICH, this 22d }  
of the 7th, 1651. }

*Strength out of Weaknesse, p. 20—25.*

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(E) *Extracts from Eliot's "Tears of Repentance."*

*"Certe haud dubia hæc gratiæ in ipsis sunt effecta et argumenta, eo gratiora et illustriora, quo*

*ex tantis tenebris, quibus hactenus sopiti jacerunt miseri, magnâ Dei bonitate et efficaciâ Spiritus S. emergunt.*—Anselm, in *Hoornbeek de Conversione Indorum*, p. 264.

*The Confession of Totherswump.*

“ I confess in the presence of the Lord, that before I prayed,\* many were my sins. Not one good word, indeed, did I speak, not one good thought did I think, not one good action did I do. I did ask all sins, and full was my heart of evil thoughts. When the English did tell me of God, I cared not for it I thought it enough if they loved me. I had many friends that loved me, and I thought if they died, I would pray to God, and afterward it so came to pass. Then was my heart ashamed, to pray I was ashamed, and if I prayed not I was ashamed,— a double shame was upon me. When God by you taught us, very much ashamed was my heart. Then you taught us that Christ knoweth all our hearts; therefore truly he saw my thoughts, and I

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\* “ Their frequent phrase of praying to God is not to be understood of that ordinance and duty of prayer only, but of all religion.”



had thought, if my kindred should die, I would pray to God. Therefore, they dying, I must now pray to God; and therefore my heart feared, for I thought Christ knew my thoughts. Then I heard you teach, 'The first man God made was Adam, and God made a covenant with him, Do and live, thou and thy children: if thou do not, thou must die, thou and thy children.' And we are children of Adam, poor sinners, therefore we have all sinned for we have broke God's covenant. Therefore evil is my heart; therefore God is angry with me; we sin against him every day. But this great mercy God hath given us,—he hath given us his only Son, and promiseth that whosoever believeth in Christ shall be saved; for Christ hath died for us in our stead, for oursins, and he hath done for us all the works of God, for I can do no good act, only Christ can, and only Christ hath done all for us. Christ hath deserved (procured) pardon for us, and risen again. He hath ascended to God, and doth ever pray for us: therefore all believers' souls shall go to heaven to Christ. But when I heard that word of Christ, Christ said, 'Repent and believe;' and Christ seeth who repenteth, then I said, Dark and weak is my soul, and I am one in darkness, I am a very sinful man, and now I pray to Christ for life.—Hearing you teach that word,

that the Scribes and Pharisees said, 'Why do thy disciples break the tradition of the Fathers?' Christ answered, 'Why do ye make void the commandments of God?' Then my heart feared that I do so, when I teach the Indians, because I cannot teach them right, and thereby make the word of God vain. Again, Christ said, 'If the blind lead the blind they will both fall into the ditch; therefore I feared that I am one blind, and when I teach other Indians, I shall cause them to fall into the ditch. This is the love of God to me, that he giveth me all mercies in the world, and for them all I am thankful. I confess I deserve hell. I cannot deliver myself, but I give my soul and my flesh to Christ, and I trust my soul with him, for he is my Redeemer; and I desire to call upon him while I live.—I am ashamed of all my sins; my heart is broken for them, and melteth in me, I am angry with myself for my sins, and I pray to Christ to take away my sins, and I desire that they may be pardoned."

*The Confession of Waban.*

"Before I heard of God, and before the English came into this country, many evil things my heart did work; many thoughts I had in my heart.

I wished for riches, I wished to be a witch, I wished to be a Sachem ; and many such other evils were in my heart. When the English came, still my heart did the same things. When the English taught me of God (I coming to their houses) I would go out of their doors, and many years I knew nothing. When the English taught me I was angry with them. But a little while ago, after the great sickness, I considered what the English do, and I had some desire to do as they do ; and after that I began to work as they work ; and then I wondered how the English came to be so strong to labour. Then I thought I shall quickly die, and I feared lest I should die before I prayed to God. Then I thought, if I prayed to God in our language, whether could God understand prayers in our language. Therefore I did ask Mr Jackson and Mr Mayhew, if God understood prayers in our language. They answered me, God doth understand all languages in the world. But I do not know how to confess, and little do I know of Christ. I fear I shall not believe a great while, and very slowly. I do not know what grace is in my heart, there is but little good in me ; but this I know, that Christ hath kept all God's commandments for us, and that Christ doth know all our hearts ; and now I desire to repent

of all my sins. I neither have done, nor can do, the commandments of the Lord; but I am ashamed of all I do, and I do repent of all my sins, even of all that I do know of. I desire that I may be converted from all my sins, and that I may believe in Christ; and I desire him. I dislike my sins, yet I do not truly pray to God in my heart; no matter for good works, all is the true heart; and this day I do not so much desire good works, as thoroughly to open my heart. I confess I can do nothing but deserve damnation. Christ only can help me and do for me. But I have nothing to say for myself that is good. I judge that I am a sinner, and cannot repent, but Christ hath deserved pardon for us.

*The Confession of Nishokkou.*

“ I am dead in sin. Oh! that my sins might die, for they cannot give life, because they be dead. Before I prayed to God, I did commit all filthiness,—I prayed to many gods,—I was proud, full of lusts, adulteries, and all other sins; and, therefore, this is my first confession, that God is merciful, and I am a sinner; for God hath given to me instruction, and causeth me to pray unto God, but I only pray words. When I prayed, I sometimes

wondered, and thought true it is that God made the world and me ; and then I thought I knew God, because I saw these his works, and then I was glad sometimes, and gave thanks ; yet presently again I did not rejoice in it. Again, sometimes I thought how I do well because I pray, and work not on the Sabbath-days, but come to the meetings, and hear the word of God. But afterward again, I thought I do not well, because true it is that yet I do not truly pray ; for now I see sin when I pray, because there is nothing but sin in my mouth, or hand, or heart ; and all sins are these, for of these sins my heart is full, because my heart doth sometimes lust, and steal, and the like. Again, I was not only proud before I prayed, but now I am proud. Again, sometimes my heart is humbled, and then I pray, O God have mercy on me, and pardon these my sins ; yet sometimes I know not whether God did either hear my prayer, or pardon my sins. Again, afterwards I thought I had greatly sinned, because I heard of the good way of praying unto God, but I do wickedly, because I pray not truly ; yes, sometimes I have much ado to pray with my mouth, and therefore I sin. I heard of that good way to keep the Sabbath, and not to work on that day, and I did so ; but yet again I sinned in it,

because I did not reverence the word of God ; yea, and sometimes I thought that working on the Sabbath was no great matter. Again, I heard it was a good way to come to the meetings, and hear the word of God, and I desired to do it ; but in this also I sinned, because I did not truly hear ; yea, sometimes I thought it no great matter if I heard not, and cared not to come to hear, and still I so sinned. Then I thought God was angry, because I have greatly sinned,—desiring to do well, and yet again to sin. When I desired to do well, then I sinned ; and in all things I sinned. But afterward I was angry with myself, and thought I will not sin again, and what God saith is good, but I am sinful, because I have done all these evils. Sometimes my heart is humbled, and then I repent, and say, O God and Jesus Christ have mercy on me, and pardon my sins. Now I desire truly to pray ; now I desire to reverence the word every Sabbath-day ; now I desire to hear the word of God truly ; now I desire to bend my heart to pray, and it may be God will hear me ; but quickly after a temptation cometh to my heart, and I did not desire it. Sometimes I did think, true it is I can do nothing of myself, but Jesus Christ must have mercy on me, because Christ hath done for me all God's commandments

and good works, therefore my heart saith, O Jesus give me desires after thee. Sometimes I think it is true, I have greatly sinned against God, but great are his mercies. Sometimes I hear the word on the Sabbath-day, and he giveth it me, (that is, maketh it my own). Sometimes I say the great and mighty God is in heaven, but these are but words, because I do not fear this great and mighty God; and I sometimes regard not God's word, and make it of none effect, because I do not that which is good, but commit sin. Sometimes I say I know Christ, because I know he died for us, and hath redeemed us, and procured pardon for us; yet again I say I sin, because I believe not Christ, for that only is right to believe in Christ, and do what he saith; but I think I do this in vain, because I yet do not truly believe in Jesus Christ, nor do what he commandeth, and therefore my heart plays the hypocrite. Sometimes I think I am like unto Satan, because I do all these things, and sin in all things I do. If I pray I sin, if I keep Sabbath I sin, if I hear God's word I sin, therefore I am like the devil. Now I know I deserve to go to hell, because all these sins I have committed. Then my heart is troubled, and I say, O God and Christ pardon all my sin, for I cannot pardon my sins myself; for the first man

brought sin into the world, and therefore I am sinful, therefore I pray thee, O Lord, pardon all the sins which I have done. Sometimes my heart is humbled, and I desire to fear God, because he is a great God, and I desire to do what he saith, and now I desire to do the right way, and now I desire to believe Jesus Christ; and sometimes I think it may be God will hear me, it may be he will pardon me. Again, I think I cannot be ashamed of sin; but now I am ashamed of all my sins, and my heart is broken, and all these my sins I cast off, and take heed of; yet then again I sometimes say to God, I cannot myself be humbled, or break my heart, or cast off sin, but I pray thee, O Jesus, help me to do it. Sometimes I confess this is true, I cannot redeem myself, nor deliver myself, because of all these my many sins. Truly, full is my heart of sin in every thing; all my thoughts, my words, my looks, my works, are full of sin. True this is, therefore I cannot deliver myself from sin. O redeem thou my soul from hell and torment, for I like not to do it with my own hand; therefore I desire Jesus Christ that I may delight in him. Take thou me, and my soul, because thou hast done God's word, and all good works for me, and hast procured pardon for all my sins, and hast prepared pardon in



heaven, therefore I desire, O I desire pardon ; but I sometimes think Christ doth not delight in me, because I do much play the hypocrite ; but if I truly believe, then he will pardon, but true faith I cannot work. O Jesus Christ help me, and give it me."

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(F) p. 142. *Dying Speech of Waban, a Converted Indian.*

" His speech is as followeth :—' I now rejoice, though I be now a dying. Great is my affliction in this world ; but I hope that God doth so afflict me only to try my praying to God in this world, whether it be true and strong or not ; but I hope God doth gently call me to repentance, and to prepare to come unto him ; therefore he layeth on me great pain and affliction. Though my body be almost broken by sickness, yet I desire to remember thy name. O my God, until I die, I remember those words, Job xix. 23—28. ' Oh that my words were now written ! oh that they were printed in a book ! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in a rock for ever ! For

w that my Redeemer liveth, and that he stand at the latter day upon the earth. And after my skin worms destroy this body, my flesh I shall see God,' &c. I desire not troubled about matters of this world ; I am troubled. I desire you all, my brethren and you my children, do not greatly weep mourn for me in this world. I am now almost blind but see that you strongly pray to God, and I also prepare and make ready to die, for one of you must come to dying ; therefore forsake your sins, every one of you, and believe in Jesus Christ ; I believe that which is written in the book of God. Consider truly, and repent of your sins ; then God will pardon all your great sins. God can pardon all your sins, as he pardoned the first ; for God's free mercy and glory doth extend to the world. God will in no wise forget that in this world do sincerely repent and believe ; verily, this is love, O my God. Therefore I desire that God would do this for me, that in my body I am full of pain ; as for those things whereof afore we prayed to God, I have no hope of them, now I believe that God hath called many souls abiding. Therefore I pray you do not so much grieve for me, when I die in this

world, but make yourselves ready to die, and follow me, and then we shall see each other in eternal glory. In this world we live but a short-time; therefore we must always be preparing, that we may be ready to die. Therefore, O my God, I humbly pray, receive my soul, by thy free mercy in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer, for Christ hath died for me, and for all my sins in this world committed. My great God hath given me long life, and therefore I am now willing to die. O Jesus Christ help my soul; I believe that my sickness doth not arise out of the dust, nor cometh at peradventure, but God sendeth it; Job v. 6, 7. By this sickness God calleth me to repent of all my sins, and to believe in Christ. Now I confess myself a great sinner; O pardon me, and help me, for Christ's sake. Lord, thou callest me with a double calling, sometimes by prosperity and mercy, sometimes by affliction. And now thou callest me by sickness, but let me not forget thee, O my God; for those that forget thy name, thou wilt forsake them,—as Psalm ix. 17, All that forget God shall be cast into hell. Therefore, let me not forget thee, O my God. I give my soul to thee, O my Redeemer, Jesus Christ; pardon all my sins, and deliver me from hell; oh do thou help me against death, and then

am willing to die ; and when I die, oh help me, and receive me.' In so saying he died."—*Gillies' Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 348.*

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3) p. 169. *Notices of Governor Mayhew, and some of his descendants.*

The worshipful Thomas Mayhew, for some time previous to the death of his son, had, by his judicious conduct as governor of Martha's Vineyard and the other places included in his patent, pursued several measures which proved useful in promoting the spread of the gospel, and the good order of those who appeared to experience its power. Finding himself unable to obtain an English minister for the Indians, and raising himself above all the ceremonies of his rank, he resolved to use his direct personal endeavours to encourage them in the profession which they made. Though above seventy years of age, he laboured, with unwearied diligence, to perfect himself in their language ; and, as soon as he was able to preach in it, he was so desirous of instructing

them, that sometimes he would travel twenty miles on foot, in order to deliver the message of salvation. He was very successful in his labours, and instrumental in leading some of the Indians who had continued obstinate during the ministry of his son, to embrace the gospel. Of these, as well as of the more established converts, he was requested to accept the pastoral charge when above eighty years of age ; but, apprehending that if he accepted the office which was thus proposed to him, he would be unable to discharge his duties as governor, he requested that an Indian minister should be elected, which was done, as already related.

The following extracts from one of his letters, addressed to Major Gookin, present us with an account of the actual state of the Indians under his care, about the end of 1674.

*“ Much Honoured Captain Gookin,*

“—The first church was gathered here just fifteen years since,—which church is now become three churches, by reason of their habitations ; two upon the Vineyard. There are near fifty in full, and, I suppose, rightly in communion, [in the two churches upon the Vineyard] by virtue of their godly conversations. Which churches have

a pastor and elder.—The families here are three hundred at least: upon the isle Chappaquidick, sixty families; but one of them prays not to God. The other two hundred and forty families are generally praying. Care is taken that all and every one of them come in by voluntary confession; which is, and hath been, the constant practice here now. We did at the first receive them, they renouncing heathenism, and confessing their sins; and those were generally professors. Out of them they entered into church-fellowship, when by the word and spirit of God they are moved thereunto. There are ten Indian preachers, of good knowledge and holy conversation; seven jurisdictions; and six meetings every Lord's day. In every jurisdiction the heads are worshippers. The whole holds forth the face of Christianity,—how sincere I know not.\*

“ And for Nantucket, there is a church which relates to me. They, as I said, first joined into full worship here, and since became a church orderly, which is increased. Upon that island are many praying Indians. Also the families of that

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\* According to Dr Mather, (b. iii. p. 200) there were in 1674, about fifteen hundred souls of the ministry of the Mayhew's on Martha's Vineyard.

island are about three hundred. I have oftentimes accounted the families of both islands, and have very often, these thirty-two years, been at Nantucket.

“ For schools, sometimes there are some, sometimes not. Many can read and write Indian,—very few English,—none to great purpose,—not above three or four, and those do it brokenly.

“ This upon the sudden, which is that I know to be exactly true ; for I am always considering of persons and things, being well acquainted with the state and conditions of the Indians. I shall not add, but my due respects, and salute you, and rest,—Worthy Sir, your affectionate friend and servant to command in our Lord Jesus Christ,

THOMAS MAYHEW.”

*Upon the Vineyard,* }  
*Sept. 1, 1676.* }

The venerable Mr Mayhew prosecuted his labours with great zeal till 1681, when he died, in the ninety-third year of his age, to the great grief and lamentation, both of the Indians and English. On his death-bed he declared himself to be satisfied with life ; gave many excellent counsels and exhortations to those who surrounded him, and experienced much joy and peace in believing

Previously to his death, his grandson, John, the youngest son of Thomas Mayhew, jun. who had been settled as pastor of the English families, became also a preacher to the Indians, at their urgent request. He redoubled his exertions when he saw them deprived of the assistance of his grandfather, and was successful in delivering them from the influence of some erroneous opinions which threatened to spread in the islands. He pursued his labours with great disinterestedness, till February 3, 1688-9, when he was called to receive his reward. He was thirty-seven years old when he died; and he left an Indian church, "of a hundred communicants, walking according to the rule of the Scriptures." In his last illness he expressed a desire "that he might live a while longer, to have seen his children a little grown up before he died, and to have done more service for Christ on the earth."

In March, 1694,\* he was succeeded by his

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\* At this time the number of the Indians on Martha's Vineyard was much diminished. At Nantucket, however, there were about five hundred adults, five assemblies of praying Indians, and three Indian churches.—*Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 207. Prince's Account, &c. spud Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 306.*



eldest son, Mr Experience Mayhew, then a young man about twenty-one years of age. The Indian language had been natural to him from his infancy, and he proved a distinguished missionary. He made a new version of the book of Psalms, and the Gospel according to John. He also published, in 1727, a volume entitled Indian Converts, in which is contained an impartial account of thirty "godly ministers," thirty-seven "other good men," thirty-nine "religious women," and twenty-two "pious children." As stated on his grave-stone, "He was esteemed a man of good understanding, sincere piety, humility, and charity." He died of apoplexy on the 9th November, 1758, after having spent sixty-three years of his life in the gospel ministry, chiefly among the Indians.

Mr Zechariah Mayhew, the son of Mr Experience Mayhew, succeeded his father. The Indians, among whom he laboured, amounted in 1773, to three hundred and thirteen. He died on the 6th of March, 1806, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Like his ancestors, he was held in high esteem for his distinguished talents and unaffected piety; and with him, to the sorrow of the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, and the neighbouring churches, terminated the unexampled mis-

tionary career of the Mayhews.—*Prince's Account of those English Ministers who have ministered at Martha's Vineyard, apud Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 294—309. Gookin, in Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 204, 205. Coll. of Mass. Hist. vol. i. p. 207. Brown's Hist. of the Propagation of Christianity, vol. i. p. 59, 60. Christian Observer, vol. xxvi. p. 742. Panoplist, vol. iv. (N. S.) p. 385.*

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(H) p. 170. *Notice of the Indians under the care of the Rev. John Cotton.*

Mr John Cotton presented Major Gookin, in September, 1674, with an account of his missionary labours at Plymouth. "I have not long lived here," he remarks, "but, in this time, I began to preach the word of God to a company of Indians, at a place called Kitteaumut. Since which, through the blessing of God, the number of praying Indians is forty males and females.—About ten of these can read the English books, and many more are very desirous to learn to read the

word.—I sometimes preach to the Indians upon the Cape, at several places, and at Namassekett; whither come the praying Indians of Assawomit and Ketchequit.—When the courts are here, there are usually great multitudes of Indians from all parts of the colony. At those seasons I preach to them; which I mention, because God hath so far blessed it, as to make it a means to encourage some that live very remote to affect praying to God,—viz. Maumanewat, Sachem of Sakonett, and some principal Indians of Coquitt, who made them confessions, and declared their willingness to serve God; and they do improve all the opportunities they can get to hear the word.”

In the year 1693, Mr Cotton had five hundred Indians under his care.—*Gookin*, in *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 200, 201.* *Mather, b. vi. p. 61.*

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(I) p. 171. *Letter from the Rev. James Fitch to Major Gookin, respecting his labours among the Indians.*

“Your’s I received, dated in September. And

I have hitherto delayed that I might be the better prepared for an answer to your queries. Concerning the Indians in this colony, and at Long Island, I cannot understand that they have any inclination to learn the knowledge of God; but when Mr Pierson did frequently try, in the several plantations in this colony, they did generally shew an averseness, yea, a perverse contempt of the word of God; and at present they will not yield to any settled hearing or attendance upon the ministry of the word. Since God hath called me to labour in this work among the Indians nearer to me, where indeed are the most considerable of any in the colony, the first of my time was spent among the Indians at Moheek,\* where Unkas and his son, and Wanuh, are Sachems. These at first carried it teachably and tractably, until at length the Sachems did discern that religion would not consist with a mere receiving of the word; and that practical religion will throw down their heathenish idols, and the Sachem's tyrannical monarchy; and then the Sachems, discerning this, did not only go away, but drew off their people, some by flatteries, and others by threatenings; and they would not suffer them to give so much

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\* Montville.

as an outward attendance to the ministry of the word of God. But at this time some did shew a willingness to attend. These few I began meetings with, about one year and a half since. What progress they have made I have informed the commissioners. *First*, in respect of knowledge they are enlightened in the common principles of the true religion. *Secondly*, in respect of practice, they have yielded to cast off heathenish devil worship, and on the Lord's day to meet together, to repeat and to confer about that which they have heard me teach them of the word of God. And he that is the chief amongst them, whose name is Weebax, hath learned so much, that he is willing and able in some degree to be helpful in teaching and prayer to the others, on the Lord's day. And this Weebax is of such a blameless conversation, that his worst enemies and haters of religion cannot but speak well of his conversation; and the same may be said of another, whose name is Tuhamon.

“ The number of these Indians is now increased to above thirty grown persons, men and women, besides children and young ones. Some have shewed a willingness that their children should learn to read; but it is not yet two years since I began with these; and truly the charge and

expencc to set up a school amongst them, is too great for me at present to compass. These Indians do suffer much, especially the chief among them, that it is wonderment they are not utterly discouraged, considering they are but yet in their beginnings ; for the Sachem, and Indians round about, do to the utmost what they can, by reproaches, revilinga, and threatenings, especially in a private and clandestine manner, to dismay them.

“ And for the settlement and encouragement of these Indians, I have given them of mine own lands, and some that I have procured of our town, above three hundred acres of good improvable lands, and made it sure to them and theirs, so long as they go on in the ways of God.

“ And, at this time, Unkas and his sons seem as if they would come on again to the ministry of the word of God. But it is no other but in envy against these, and to promote some present self design ; but it is easy with God to turn all to salvation, &c.

“ I have nothing further at present to add, but that the Lord would direct and prosper you in your pious intendments ; so intreating your prayers for me, who am,—Your unworthy friend and servant in the work of the Lord,

*From Norwich, }  
Nov. 20, 1674. }*

JAMES FITCH, sen- :

(K) p. 174. *Remarks on the formation of an Alphabet, &c. by Mr Eliot.*

“ I use the same characters which are of most common use in our English books ; viz. the Roman and Italic letters. Also our alphabet is the same with the English, saving in these few things following. *First*, The difficulty of the rule about the letter *c*, by reason of the change of its sound in the five sounds, *ca, ce, ci, co, cu*, being sufficiently helped by the letter *k* and *s* ; we therefore lay by the letter *c*, saving in *ck*, of which there is frequent use in their language. Yet I do not put it out of the alphabet for the use of it in other languages, but the character *oh* next to it, and call it *chee*. *Secondly*, I put *i* consonant into our alphabet, and give it this character *j*, and call it *ji*, or *gi*, as this syllable soundeth in the English word *giant*. The proper sound of *g* is as the English word *age* soundeth. We use only two accents. The acute ' to shew what syllable is first produced in pronouncing of the word ; which if it be not attended, no nation can understand their own language.—There be twenty-seven characters: the reason of increasing the number is above, (viz. the desire of giving to each letter a

uniform sound.) And I have been thus far bold with the alphabet, because it is the first time of writing this language; and it is better to settle our foundation right at first, than to have to mend it afterwards.

“—When I taught our Indians first to lay out a word into syllables, and then, according to the sound of every syllable, to make it up with the right letters; viz. if it were a simple sound, then one vocal made this syllable; if it were such a sound as required some of the consonants to make it up, then the adding the right consonants, either before the vocal, or after it, or both. They quickly apprehended and understood this epitomie of the art of spelling, and could soon learn to read.—The men, women, and up-grown youth do thus rationally learn to read; but the children learn by rote or custom, as the other children do. Such as desire to learn this language, must be attentive to pronounce right; especially to produce that syllable which is first to be produced; then they must spell by art, and accustom their tongues to pronounce their syllables and words; then learn to read such books as are printed in their language. *Legendo, Scribendo, Loquendo*, are the three means to learn a language.”—*Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun*, p. 1—5.



(L) p. 176. *Statement respecting the Indians under the care of the Rev. Richard Bourne.*

From Mr Bourne's account of the Indians among whom he laboured, presented to Major Gookin in 1674, it appears that they amounted to four hundred and ninety-seven; that they resided in upwards of twenty different places; that ninety of them were baptized, and twenty-seven in full communion with the church; that, besides a hundred children who had lately begun to read and write, there were a hundred and forty-two able to read Indian, seventy-two to write, and nine to read English; and that eight were employed in preaching the gospel.

Mr Bourne left no successor in the ministry, except an Indian named Simson Popponnet, who prosecuted his labours among his brethren upwards of forty years. After his death, the Indians at Mashpee were not left destitute. Joseph Bourne, a great grandson of their first minister, was ordained their pastor in 1729; and, after he resigned his office, in 1729, Solomon Brint, a judicious Indian, commenced his labours among them, and continued to serve them in the gospel till he was about eighty years old.—*Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 196-199; vol. iii. p. 1901, 91.*

(M) p. 205. *Letter from the Rev. Samuel Treat, containing a brief view of his labours and success among the Indians in the neighbourhood of Eastham.*

Mr Treat obtained his degree of Master of Arts, at Harvard College, in 1669. According to Dr C. Mather, he was "most active" in his labours among the Indians. The following letter, addressed to the Rev. Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, is dated at Eastham, where he acted as pastor, 23d August, 1693.

*" Reverend and Worthy Sir,*

"—You may be assured as followeth; that there are five hundred and five adult persons of Indians within the limits of our township, unto whom, these many years past, I have from time to time imparted the Gospel of our Lord Jesus in their own language, (and I truly hope not without success); and yet I continue in the same service, earnestly imploring, and not without hopes, expecting and waiting for a more plentiful down-pouring of the spirit from on high among them. And I verily do not know of, nor can I learn that there is so much as one of these five hundred In-

dians that does obstinately absent from, but do jointly frequent and attend on the preaching of the word, and countenance the same; not only frequenting and attending seasons of worship of a divine sanction, but also all other occasional opportunities, when the gospel is dispensed to them; and when our congregations solemnize public days of prayer with fasting, or of praises, (I usually giving them advertisement thereof) they readily comply therewith, in their respective assemblies.

“ They have four distinct assemblies, in four villages belonging to our township, in which four assemblies they have four teachers of their own choice, of the more sober, well-affected, and understanding persons among them, who do duly preach to them, when I am not with them. These Indian teachers repair to my house once a week, to be further instructed, (*pro Modulo meo*) in the concernments proper for their service and station.

“ There are in the four above-said villages, four schoolmasters, of the best accomplished for that service, who teach their youth to read and write their own language.

“ There are also six justices of the peace, or magistrates, in the four above-said villages, who regu-

late their civil affairs, and punish criminals and transgressors of the civil law; they have their stated courts and other inferior officers in a subserviency to their civil good order.

“ There are among them many of a serious, sober, civilized conversation and deportment, who are making essays towards a further progressive step of obedience and conformity to the rules of the gospel, viz. an ecclesiastical combination, having a great desire to be baptized.

“ They are very serviceable by their labour to the English vicinity, and have all along, since our wars with their nation, been very friendly to the English, and forward to serve them in that quarrel. Their deportment, and converse, and garb, being more manly and laudable than any other Indians that I have observed in the province.

“ But, Sir, I would not be tedious, only craving your interest at the throne of grace for us, that we may be serviceable to the name and kingdom of our Lord Jesus. So I subscribe, Sir, yours willingly,

SAMUEL TREAT.

*Mather b. iii. p. 200 ; b. iv. p. 137 ; b. vi. p. 60.*

(N) p. 219. *Paraphrase on "Our Conversation is in heaven," by Mr Eliot.*

"Indeed I cannot give a fuller description of him," says Dr C. Mather, "than what was in a paraphrase that I have heard himself to make on that Scripture, 'Our conversation is in heaven: ' I wrote from him as he uttered it.

"Behold," said he, 'the ancient and excellent character of a true Christian; 'tis that which Peter calls holiness in all manner of conversation. You shall not find a Christian out of the way of godly conversation. For, *first*, a seventh part of our time is all spent in heaven, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on the Sabbath of God. Besides, God has written on the head of the Sabbath, Remember; which looks both forwards and backwards; and thus a good part of the week will be spent in sabbatizing. Well, but for the rest of our time? Why, we shall have that spent in heaven ere we have done. For, *secondly*, we have many days for both fasting and thanksgiving in our pilgrimage, and here are so many Sabbaths more. Moreover, *thirdly*, we have our lectures every week, and pious people will not miss them if they can help it. Furthermore, *fourthly*, we

have our private meetings, wherein we pray, and sing, and repeat sermons, and confer together about the things of God; and being now come thus far, we are in heaven almost every day. But a little further, *fifthly*, we perform family duties every day; we have our morning and evening sacrifices, wherein, having read the Scriptures to our families, we call upon the name of God, and every now and then carefully catechize those that are under our charge. *Sixthly*, we shall also have our daily devotions in our closets, wherein, unto supplication before the Lord, we shall add some serious meditation upon his word; a David will be at this work no less than thrice a day. *Seventhly*, we have likewise many scores of ejaculations in a day; and these we have, like Nehemiah, in whatever place we come into. *Eighthly*, we have our occasional thoughts, and our occasional talks, upon spiritual matters; and we have our occasional acts of charity, wherein we do like the inhabitants of heaven every day. *Ninthly*, in our callings, in our civil callings, we keep up heavenly frames, we buy and sell, and toil; yea, we eat and drink, with some eye both to the honour and command of God in all. Behold, I have not now left an inch of time to be worldly; it is all engrossed for heaven. And yet, lest here should

not be enough, *Lastly*, we have our spiritual warfare. We are always encountering the enemies of our souls, which continually raises our hearts unto our helper and leader in the heavens. Let no man say, It is impossible to live at this rate; for we have known some live thus; and others that have written of such a life, have but spun a web out of their own blessed experiences. New-England has example of this life; though, alas! 'tis to be lamented, that the distractions of the world, in too many professors, becloud the beauty of a heavenly conversation. In fine, our employment lies in heaven. In the morning, if we ask where am I to be to-day? Our souls must answer, In heaven. In the evening, if we ask, where have I been to-day? our souls may answer, In heaven. If thou art a believer, thou art no stranger to heaven while thou livest; and when thou diest, heaven will be no strange place to thee: no, thou hast been there a thousand times before.'

“ In this language I have heard him express himself; and he did what he said:—he was a *Boniface* as well as a *Benedict*, and he was one of those,

Qui faciendo docent, quæ faciendæ docent.”

*Mather, b. iii. p. 177.*

(O) p. 233. *Notices of several Ministers who laboured among the Indians, and extracts from some of their Letters written in 1693.*

The Rev. Daniel Gookin was a son of Major Gookin, the ruler of the praying Indians in Massachusetts. He seems to have been engaged, in early life, in advancing the religious interests of the converts. Mr Eliot, in one of his letters addressed to the Hon. R. Boyle; dated 22d April, 1684, gives the following account of him : " Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son unto this service of Christ. He is a pious and learned young man, about thirty-three years old, and hath been eight years a fellow of the College. He hath taught and trained up two classes of our scholars unto their commencement. He is a man whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherborn, a small village near Natick, whose meeting-house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. Mr Gookin holdeth a lecture in Natick meeting-house, once a month ; which lecture many English, especially of Sherborn, do frequent. He first preacheth in English to the English audience, and then the



same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr Gookin hath fore-prepared. We apprehend that this will, by God's blessing, be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr Gookin in learning the Indian tongue."

In 1693, Mr Gookin is represented as bestowing much care on the Indian church at Natick, which had dwindled much away since Mr Eliot's death.—*Mass.* b. iv. p. 137; b. vi. p. 61. *Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle.*

The Rev. James Noyce was pastor of a church at Stonington. The letter, of which the following is an extract, was addressed to the Rev. I. Mather, President of Harvard College.

" *Reverend Sir,*

"—The labours of the Rev. Mr Eliot, Mr Mayhew, &c. have not been lost; they have not run in vain, but many are gone to heaven of their deceased hearers. And I should count it my joy and crown to win one soul of them to Christ. And I am in hope that some one or two of the Pequots, that were my friends, and lived on my land, upon my endeavour have obtained mercy now dead, who died praying, renounced wholly the way of the heathen worship, &c.

“ Also some of our captive servants professing the faith with many tears, are baptized, and give good testimony in their knowledge, converse, and conversation, of a real gracious work upon them.

“ I have in my house a witty hopeful Sachem’s son, one of the chiefest quality in these parts, bound fast to me to be instructed to read and write, and in the way of life, which hitherto gives great hopes, and no discouragement; he is about thirteen years of age.—One very witty and wise Sachem told me he would be a Christian, but he was afraid his heart would not be right, without which, profession would be in vain; but he owned, and almost all present, when I prayed, our God was the great and true God, but they were poor Indians, and they did not know him. Of these things, and much more, many English witnesses are alive, but some are dead.—Yours to serve,

JAMES NOYCE.

Stonington, }  
Mar. 15, 93. }

*Mather, b. vi. p. 60.*

The Rev. Rowland Cotton was minister a Sandwich. “ I have endeavoured,” he remarks, in a letter dated 27th June, 1693, “ to take an

exact account of those Indians, adult persons, who do constantly attend upon the dispensation of the gospel, in the place that at present I am concerned for. And we do find, that in Mashipaug, Sanctuit, and Cotuit,—villages bordering on each other, and all belonging to the same assembly,—there are no less than two hundred and fourteen; besides several stragglers that have no settled place, do repair thither. To carry on the work of the Lord's day, there is appointed one Simon Papmonit; and at other times I shall diligently intend their good according to my capacity."

Mr Cotton had every encouragement to labour among the Indians in Plymouth colony. In 1685, the professed believers of the gospel in that quarter amounted to fourteen hundred and eighty-nine, beside boys and girls under twelve years of age, who were supposed to be more than three times that number. At the time of his writing the preceding letter, the Indians under regular instruction appear to have been but little diminished.—*Mather, b. vi. p. 61. Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 201.*

The Rev. Peter Thatcher was pastor of the church at Milton, and a faithful labourer among the Indians at Punkipog. The Rev. Grindall Rawson was a fellow-student of Dr Cott-

Mather, who describes him as well educated and industrious. He lived in Mendham, where he was settled in the English congregation. He founded a French church at Perth, and was the Nipmuck Indian.—*History*, &c., p. 138; b. vi. p. 6.

The Rev. *Georgius* *Smith* was a minister at Albany. His very zealous zeal, acquired the Indians converts in great numbers with very considerable success. In the beginning of 1722, he wrote the following letter to the Rev. *I. Mather*

“ *Reverend Sir,*

“ I have this week been to a place called Milet, where the Indians were gathered about four years ago, and where I saw a castle a great many years ago, which was so filthy to frustrate my desires, by making such impressions upon the Indians as to prevent their religion; yet Almighty God has made many my proselytes in that way; and more. Sometimes there happens differences and disputes between my people, and the others concerning the points of doctrine, which they confute the others. I have seen many of

them, that they take a great deal of pains, are very zealous to learn, and very devout in practice. I am, under favour, of opinion that the Jesuit Catechism, with the cases of conscience added thereto, writ by their own hands, they learn the Indians, which is either in your reverend son, Mr Cotton Mather's opinion, may be serviceable to convince our natives and others, French that come here, of pernicious principles; and wish the same be sent me.

" I had put six or seven Psalms in their language upon our notes, but they were neglected; now they are finished, and the Ten commandments also.

" The new infant church among the Indians increases, there being seventeen last communion day, the 31st of December last, who took sacrament with us, and four others baptized the same day. I think that God has a great blessing of them yet; the Lord send a blessing to the means that are used for the enlargement of his kingdom among them; and bless you, and your labour in his vineyard, which shall ever be the prayers of him who is, Reverend Sir, your faithful and obedient servant in our Lord Jesus Christ.

ALBANY,  
Jan. 16, 1693-4. }

GODDEFR. DELLI

Mr Dellius returned to the Hague at the beginning of the eighteenth century; and, during the course of his voyage from America, he lost an Indian Dictionary which he had composed. Mr Lydius, his successor at Albany, imitated his example in labouring among the Indians.—*Mather*, *v. ii. p. 203, 204; b. vi. p. 61, 62. An Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Lond. 1706. p. 45, 46.*

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*Letter from the Rev. Richard Baxter, to the Rev. Increase Mather.*

*Dear Brother,*

“ I thought I had been near dying at twelve o'clock in bed,—but your book revived me; I lay reading it until between one and two. I knew much of Mr Eliot's opinions by many letters which I had from him. There was no man on earth whom I honoured above him. It is his *Evangelical Work*, that is, the *Apostolical Succession*, that I plead for. I am now dying, I hope, as he did. It pleased me to read from him my case :

‘ My understanding faileth, my memory fail  
tongue faileth, [and my hand and pen fail,]  
charity faileth not.’ ~~That~~ word much co  
me.—

“ I loved your FATHER upon the lett  
ceived from him. I love YOU better f  
learning, labours, and peaceable modera  
love YOUR SON better than either of you,  
excellent temper that appeareth in his  
O that godliness and wisdom thus INCR  
all families! He hath honoured himself  
MUCH as Mr Eliot; I say, but HALF A  
for DEEDS excel WORDS. God preserve  
New-England! Pray for your fainting, l  
ing friend,

Ri. BA

*August 3, 1691.*

FINIS.





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